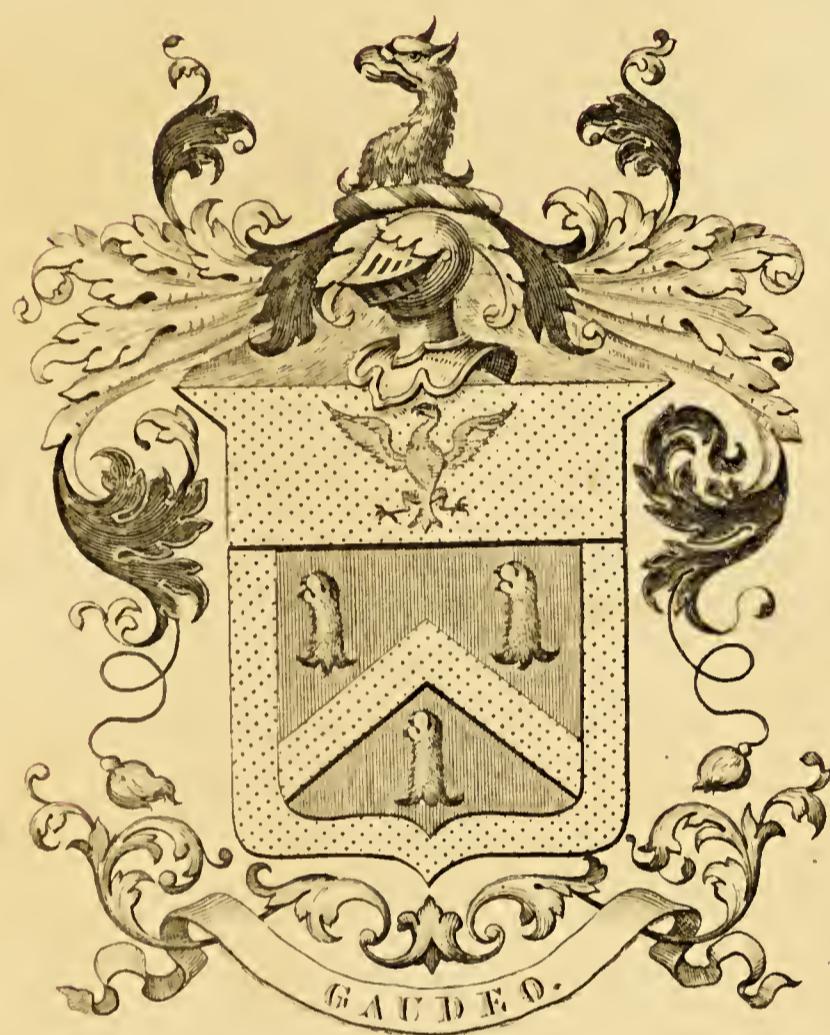


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M E M O I R S

S. 1676 OF THE

Principal Transactions

OF THE

L A S T W A R

B E T W E E N T H E

English and French in North-America.

FROM THE

Commencement of it in 1744, to the Conclusion of
the Treaty at *Aix la Chapelle.*

Containing in Particular

An ACCOUNT of the Importance of *Nova Scotia* or
Acadie, and the Island of *Cape Breton* to both
Nations.

The T H I R D E D I T I O N.

L O N D O N, Printed.

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M D C C L V I I I.

JOHN CARTER BROWN

RPJCB

To His GRACE the

Duke of NEWCASTLE,

First LORD Commissioner of His
MAJESTY's TREASURY,

KNIGHT of the Most Noble Order of the
GARTER, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

THE Events, which are the Subject of these Memoirs, had their Rise in *North America*, when your Grace's particular Department, as one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, put the Affairs of that *Continent* under your Grace's more immediate Direction: And those, who are acquainted with the first Springs and Movements, which set these Expeditions on foot, and with the Character of the Person in *America*, who was chiefly instrumental in conducting them there, must be sensible, that the Success was wholly owing to the Influence of your Grace's Administration, and ought therefore to be reckoned among the other happy Effects of it.

These, my Lord, together with the Ambition, which the Author has of making his public Acknowledgments to your Grace for personal Obligations, are the Motives, which have induced him to take the Liberty of addressing the following Sheets to your Grace; and encourage him to hope, that they will be honoured with your Grace's Protection.

I am sensible, my Lord, that the Success of the last War in *North America* was not equal to the great Idea formed,

formed in your Grace's Mind at that time for the Service of your King and Country.

Had your Grace's Plan transmitted to *New England* in 1746 for the Reduction of *Canada* been carried into Execution that Year, as it would have been, if it had not been frustrated by unforeseen, inevitable Accidents in *Europe*, against which it was not in the Power of Human Policy to provide ; that would have crowned the War with the most important Conquest to the Interests of *Great Britain*, that was ever made upon the Continent of *America*.

But, my Lord, short as the Events of the War fell of your Grace's Scheme ; yet the Consequences were, not only the Preservation of *Great Britain's* most essential Territory in *North America* for securing to her the Possession of all her other Colonies there (at a time when the Enemy had reduced it to such Extremities, that its Fate seemed to depend upon as slender a Thread, as it could possibly do ; but an Acquisition to his Majesty's Dominions, which, in all Appearance, accelerated the Extinction of a most expensive War to *Great Britain*, and laid the Foundation for restoring at that time the public Tranquility of *Europe*.

May your Grace's unwearied Counsels for the Nation's Welfare be constantly attended with Success, equal to the Patriot Views, with which they are formed ; and your King and Country long reap the salutary Fruits of them.

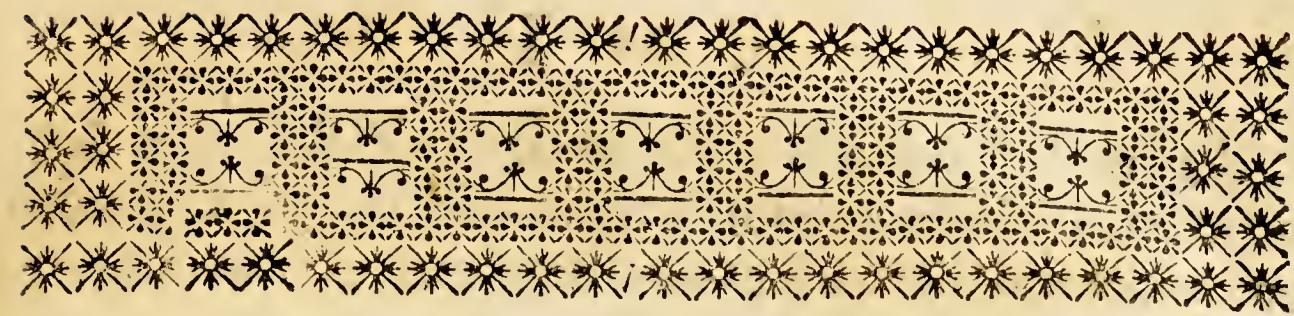
I have the Honour to be with the highest Respect,

My LORD,

Your GRACE's

most obliged, and

most devoted Servant.



M E M O I R S

OF THE

Principal Transactions of the *Last War*
between the *English* and *French* in
North-America.

THE two first Objects of the War in *North-America* were *Nova-Scotia* or *Acadie*, and the Island of *Cape Breton* : against the former of these the *French*, soon after the Declaration of War in *Europe*, made three Attempts ; in the first of which they surprized the Island of *Canso*, burnt its Forts and other Buildings, destroyed the Fishery there, and carried the Garrison Prisoners to *Louisbourg* ; and in the two last reduced *Annapolis-Royal*, the principal Fort and ancient Metropolis of the Province, to great Extremities : In the Year following the Colonies of *New-England* prosecuted an Expedition against *Cape Breton* ; in which they took it, and brought the Inhabitants of the Island of *St. John's*, situate in the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, to make their Submission upon the same Terms with those granted to *Louisbourg*, and to give Hostages for delivering Possession of the Island to the *English*.

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As an Account of the Importance of the two first-mentioned Places to both Nations will throw Light upon the several Operations and Incidents of the War, it will be proper here briefly to state it.

Nova-Scotia is the Key of the Eastern Colonies upon the Continent of *North-America*; it has about ninety Leagues of Sea-Coast upon the *Atlantic* Ocean extending from *Cape Canso* Eastward, which lies at the Entrance into the Gut or Streights of that Name (thro' which there is a Passage into the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*) to *Cape Sables* Westward, which forms one Point of the Entrance into the Bay of *Funda*: This Coast abounds with most commodious Harbours for capital Ships of War, and Banks of the best Cod-Fish in *North-America*; and is very advantageously situated for commanding the Navigation of that Part of the Ocean: Its Eastern Side forms Part of the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*, along which it lies extended about 110 Leagues from the Gut of *Canso*, at it's Entrance into the Gulf, to *Cape Rozier*, which forms the South Point of the Mouth of the River *St. Lawrence*, through which the whole Country of *Canada* receivs all its Supplies and Supports from *France*: This Coast also has several good Fisheries and Harbours, particularly the Bay of *Gaspe*, Bay *des Chaleurs*, and Bay *Verte*, the latter whereof is separated by a narrow Isthmus, about 18 Miles long, from the Bay of *Funda*, which is about 50 Leagues deep, and comprehended within the Province: In this Bay are the three Basons of *Annapolis*, *Minas* or *Les Mines*, and *Chignecto*; the Coasts whereof and Banks of the adjacent Rivers abound with Salt Marshes, which by the Force of a rich Soil, constantly recruited with marine Salts, and so, not to be impoverished by constant Tillage, produce large Crops of *English* Grain, with little Labour to the Husbandman; and among other Rivers, which fall into it, lies that of *St. John's* through which the City of *Quebec* has a Communication with the Bay, and across the Head of that, through the *Gulf of St. Lawrence*,

Lawrence, with *Louisbourg*: The North Side of the Province is bounded by the Southern Bank of the River *St. Lawrence*, along which it is extended from Cape *Rozier* to *Le Bik*, about 80 Leagues; and the Western Side by the River *Pentagoet* or *Penobscot*, which separates it from *New-England*: Its inland Parts afford a Plenty of Pasturage, with all Kinds of Roots, produces good Oak Timber for Ship Building, and white Pine Masts, and has a large Store of Mines in the District of *Minas* or *Les Mines*, which derives its Name from them.

Thus situated, it is evident, that *Nova-Scotia*, when in the Hands of the *English* must be a Barrier to the *British* Colonies in *North-America*; and the Command it gives them of the Navigation of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence* and *Bay of Funda*, puts it into their Power to cut off the Communication between *France* and *Canada*, through the River of *St. Lawrence*, which empties itself into the former, and *St. John's* that falls into the latter; which leaves the *French* no Entrance into it, except by the *Mississippi*; the Passage through which, the River *Ohio* and the great Lakes and Rivers beyond it, to *Montreal*, is a most difficult Navigation of 2000 Miles, for the greatest Part against the Stream, and incumber'd with Falls, so that it is impracticable for *France* to give her Colonies in *Canada* an effectual Support through this *Route*; and consequently in such Case she must hold them at the Will of *Great Britain*.

On the other hand, whilst *Nova Scotia* is in the Possession of the *French*, it puts it into their Power, by the Command it gives them of the Navigation to and from the *British* Northern Colonies, particularly those of *New England*, to harass and distress them exceedingly; and by its near Situation to the Eastern Parts of the *Massachusetts* Bay, and the Province of *New Hampshire*, to deprive *Great Britain* of the Naval Stores, which are now drawn from the King's Woods there for masting the Royal Navy: And whereas the cold Climate and unfruitful

fruitful Soil of *Canada* and *Cape Breton* yield only a bare Sustenance for their present Inhabitants, and make those Colonies incapable of supporting a large Number of Troops ; in which Circumstance consists very much the Security of the *British Colonies* against the Incroachments of *France* ; if *France* was augmented with the Province of *Nova Scotia*, which is fertile of every Species of Provisions, she would then be able to maintain in *North America* a numerous standing Army.

The *New England* Colonies, in every Period of this Province's Subjection to the *French*, continually felt most pernicious Effects from it, in Depredations upon their Trade, and Incursions into their Territories ; so that in 1654 *Oliver Cromwell*, for their Protection, was obliged to seize on all its Forts and dispossess the *French* of the whole Country : After the Restitution of it to them by the Treaty of *Breda*, *New England* again experienced the same mischievous Consequences from their Possession of it, which always threatened Destruction to her Colonies : And not to mention the intermediate Expeditions form'd against it from those Governments, and the alternate Change of Possession, it has undergone ; when *France* was sunk to its lowest Ebb of Power in *Europe*, by a long Series of adverse Campaigns, during Queen *Ann's* Reign, yet even then the *New-England* Governments were so distressed by this Province's remaining in the Hands of the *French* (though the Number of its Inhabitants did not exceed 4000), that they twice addressed the Crown in the strongest Terms to fit out an Armament from *England* for the Re-conquest of it ; in consequence of which an Expedition was formed against it, under the Command of General *Nicholson*, who took it : And the Negotiations at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, by which it was ceded to *Great-Britain*, will shew with what extreme Reluctance *France* made the Cession ; and that nothing but the feeble State, she was then in, could have reduced her to submit to it.

By

By the Cession of this Province, and *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, to the *English*, the *French* were left without any Harbour, or Sea Coast in that Part of the *Atlantic* Ocean ; in Consideration of which the Island of *Cape Breton*, which lay within the ancient Limits of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie*, but was excepted by the Treaty of *Utrecht* out of the Cession, was yielded to *France*.

This Island, or rather Collection of Islands, called by the *French* *Les Isles de Madame*, which lie so contiguous, that they are commonly supposed to be but one, and comprehended under the Name of the Island of *Cape Breton*, or *L'Isle Royale*, has a Sea Coast upon the *Atlantic* Ocean extending from the Gut of *Canso*, the Eastern Boundary of *Nova Scotia*, about 34 Leagues E. N. E. to the Entrance into the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, between the Eastermost Part of the Island, and the West of *Newfoundland*, from which it is about $17\frac{1}{2}$ Leagues distant : Its Western Side forms Part of the Gulf ; and the Importance of it to the *French* may be estimated from the Advantages which they have reaped from it since it has been in their Possession.

Altho' the Harbour of *Louisbourg* is not a very good one for Shipping, and the Island is barren ; and but a small Number of Ships fish there, in Comparison of those which are employed in the *French* Fisheries on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and the neighbouring Shores, Bays, Harbours, &c. yet the Situation of it is such, that all their fishing Vessels can repair thither on any Danger or Emergency ; especially those which fish in the Gulf, on the *Main*, or at the Northwest of *Newfoundland*, none of which are above one or two Days Sail, at most, from *Louisbourg* ; as may also those Vessels which load with Mud-Fish on the Banks ; so that this Island is the Center and Protection of their whole Fishery : And of what Value that has been to them will appear by the following Computation taken of it from Persons intimately acquainted with every Branch of it, according to the State, in which it was carried on, this Year before the War. Ac-

According to this Computation the Quantity of their Fish caught that Year was 1,149,000 Quintals of dry Fish, and 3,900,000 Mud-Fish ; the Value of both which, including 3,116 $\frac{1}{4}$ Ton of Train Oil drawn from the Blubber, amounts to 926,577*l.* 10*s.* according to the prime Cost of the Fish at *Newfoundland* ; and with the Addition of its Freight to the several Markets, where it is sold, makes 949,192*l.* 10*s.* Sterling ; and, if to this is added the Consumption, which is made of their coarse Woollens by the Men employed in the Fishery, reckoning for each a Blanket, Watch Coat, Rug, Pea-Jacket, &c. in the Whole 30*s.* per Man, as also the Brandy they consume, together with the Canvass, Cordage, Nets, Hooks, Grapplins, Anchors, &c. that the Ships and Shallops of this Fishery must expend at Sea and on Shore, the Value of it will amount at least to one Million Sterling *per Annum*, at which it is generally computed.

But in order to form a just Estimate of the Value of this Branch of Trade to the *French*, the Consideration of its beneficial Consequences should be taken in ; these consist principally in the following Articles :

1st, The Train Oil produced by it is necessary to the *French* in their Woolen Manufactory ; in which they have already rival'd us with too much Success ; and their Sugar Colonies abroad, which cannot do without it, are supplied with it from *France* out of this Fishery.

2dly, The Trade, it opens for them into the *Mediterranean*, and all the *Roman Catholick* States, where they carry their Fish to Market, and by the Means of it force a Vent for other *French* Manufactures ; which has been found so beneficial to their commercial Interest, that they have been indefatigable in the Cultivation of it, sparing no Pains nor Cost, and using every Art to monopolize it ; for which Purpose, from the Beginning they have used their utmost Endeavours in time of War between the two Nations, to procure a Neutrality in *North America*, so far as relates to the Fishery there ; that they might even then carry it on, and prosecute their Voyages unmolested.

3dly, The

3dly, The great Increase of their Navigation and Seamen arising from this Fishery ; in which 564 Ships, besides Shallops, and 27,500 Seamen are employed ; Circumstances, especially the latter, which considered with regard to their maritime Force, are of themselves as valuable to *France* as the Revenue of the Fishery itself : Well therefore might Pere *Charlevoix* in his History of *New-France* observe, " That this Fishery was " a more valuable Source of Wealth and Power to *France*, " than even the Mines of *Peru* or *Mexico* would be."

And this great Branch of Trade may be said to depend upon their Possession of the Island of *Cape Breton*, as it is impossible for them to carry it on without some convenient Harbour of Strength to supply and protect it ; and *Louisbourg* is the only one, they have in this Part of the *Atlantic Ocean*.

Besides the Fishery, there are likewise other Advantages which arise to the *French* from their Possession of this Island ; *France* has not one Sea Port for the Relief and Shelter of her trading Ships either to, or from the *East* or *West Indies* open to them any where in *North America*, to the Northward of the River *Mississippi*, except *Louisbourg* ; and of consequence, that whole Trade would be expos'd to the *English* Privateers from the Northern Colonies in time of War, without any Place to retreat to ; and in time of Peace, they would be without any Sea Port, they can call their own, or lay any Pretensions to in those Seas ; but *Louisbourg* serves them as an Harbour for their Ships employed in this Trade to resort to for Wood and Water, to clean or repair, for Convoy from thence to *Old France*, and on occasion of any Distress ; as it likewise does to their Vessels to and from *Canada*, by having the Cover and Command of great Part of the Gulf of *St. Lawrence* ; without which Protection and Retreat their Trade from thence, and even the Country itself, would not be worth the Expence, which *France* is at for the Maintenance of them.

To all this must be added, that the Possession of this Island puts it into their Power to annoy the Trade of the *British* Northern Colonies in time of War with their Privateers from this Harbour, to so great a Degree, that it has ever been called by the *English*, the *Dunquerque of North-America*.

From the foregoing Enumeration of the Advantages accruing to the *French* from their Possession of this Island, it is obvious of what Importance the Possession of it would be to the *English*.—The *English*, when the *French* are intirely excluded from the Cod Fishery; which they must be, when they lose Cape *Breton*, and are not allowed any Privilege at *Newfoundland*, would have the whole Benefit of it to themselves; in which Case all the *Roman Catholic* States must then depend on the *English* solely for their *Baccalio*; which, besides the Profits arising immediately from it, would give them almost the whole Trade of the *Mediterranean*, with an Increase of 27,000 Seamen for the Royal Navy, and put it absolutely in their Power to cut off all Communication between *France* and *Canada*, except through the *Mississippi* (as is before observed) and thereby not only render *Canada* of little or no Utility to the *French*, but deprive it of all effectual Support from *France*, against any Attempts of the *English* for the Reduction of it.

From the State of these two Colonies it is clear, what the Difference would have been to *Great Britain* in the Course of this War, if instead of the Preservation of *Nova Scotia* and Reduction of Cape *Breton*, she had lost the former to the *French*, and they had kept Possession of the latter: In that Case, *France* by gaining the principal Key of the Northern Colonies, extending her Sea Coast 90 Leagues further upon the *Atlantic*, and augmenting her Territories in *Canada*, and the Island of Cape *Breton* with so large a Provision Country as *Nova Scotia*, lying contiguous to both of them, would have had it in her Power to introduce and support a Body of regular Troops there, which in Conjunction with the Militia

Militia of *Canada* and the *Indians* upon the Continent (every one of which, the Six Nations not excepted, would soon then have gone over to their Interest) would overrun the *British* Colonies already surrounded with a Line of *French* Forts carried on upon the Back of them for that Purpose.

If ever *Great Britain* should receive such a Blow in her *American* Dominions, it would be in vain to hope to retrieve it by her superior Naval Force; on the other hand, if it is considered, how much the Strength of the *French Marine* would be thereby increased, and that of the *British* diminished, little doubt can be made, that the present Superiority of the Naval Force of *Great Britain* to that of *France* would survive the Loss of her Colonies but a few Years.

Upon the Cession of *Nova Scotia* to *Great Britain* at the Treaty of *Utrecht*, it was garrisoned with nine Companies of the late Lieutenant General *Phillips's* Regiment of 31 privates each, five of which were posted at *Annapolis Royal* and four at *Canso*.

As to the *French* Inhabitants (whom for distinction'sake I shall call *Acadians*) which were found in the Province at the Reduction of it, they were by the Treaty allowed their Option either to retire with their moveable Effects to any other Place within a Year, or to remain there and be subject to the Kingdom of *Great-Britain*, and to have the free Exercise of the Catholic Religion, as far as the Laws of *Great-Britain* would allow.

Much the greatest Part made their Election to remain in *Nova Scotia*, but could not be induced to take the Oath of Allegiance, pleading in Excuse, that if they bound themselves to take up Arms in defence of the *English* Goverment, they should be exposed to be made a Sacrifice to the Ravages of the *Indians* in the *French* Interest: Upon this Plea General *Phillips*, then Governor of the Province, permitted them to stay there for some Years without giving this Test of their Allegiance; but at length, to bring them to comply, he indulged them,

(though without being authoriz'd, as appears, by the Crown,) with an Exemption from bearing Arms upon any Occasion whatever ; they were likewise not only allowed the public Profession of the *Romish* Religion, but suffered to be supplied with *French* Missionaries from *Canada*, who under the Bishop of *Quebec* exercised Rule over them in secular as well as spiritual Matters, enforcing an Obedience to their Decisions and Mandates by the Infliction of Ecclesiastical Penalties ; whilst the only, or at least principal Act of Government exercised by the *English* Governor among them seems to have been, the Appointment, or rather Allowance from time to time, of Deputies chosen by and among themselves for their several Districts ; and even those frequently behaved in the Execution of their Office, as if they thought themselves scarcely accountable to the *English* Government for the Exercise of that Authority.

By this means, though these Inhabitants became *English* Subjects by Virtue of the Treaty and their Oath of Allegiance ; yet the *French* Governor in *Canada* preserved the chief Influence and Command over them, and cultivated in them their former hereditary Attachment to the *French* King ; so that they continued a distinct Body of *French Roman Catholics*, exempted by the *English* Government from bearing Arms in Defence of it ; and kept by their Priests so unmixed with and separate from the *English*, that but two *English* Families could settle among them, tho' several had attempted it ; the Consequence of all which was, that the Increase of these *Acadians*, instead of strengthening the King's Government, as they naturally ought to have done, became dangerous to it ; and by remaining in the Province were of much greater Service to *France*, than if they had removed into the *French* Government immediately after the Treaty of *Utrecht*, as they were a growing Stock in *Nova-Scotia* for settling it with *French* Inhabitants, even whilst it was in the Hands of the *English* ; and at the same time contributed to the Growth of *Cape Breton* by supplying it with

with Provisions ; whereas by removing into *Canada*, they would have been rather burdensome to it by occasioning (for some Years at least) a Scarcity of Provisions among the Inhabitants there.

In the mean time the Island of Cape *Breton*, which it appears from the Negotiations of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *France* had it much at Heart to obtain the exclusive Possession of, was immediately begun to be fortified and settled with *French* Inhabitants, in doing which no Costs or Pains was spared : A new Colony was set on foot to consist of Fishermen only with suitable Encouragement ; the Town of *Louisbourg* was built and garrisoned : the Harbour made at an immense Charge almost impregnable ; and the Place became so national an Object, that it was valued by *France* equal to any one other of her Colonies ; and the Fishery flourished so fast, that they could soon afford to undersell the *English* at foreign Markets : for the Protection of this Trade, Ships of War were annually sent from *France*, to visit and supply the Settlers and Fishery with what they wanted, and had Orders not only to protect and defend the Sea Coasts of this Island and the Gulf of St. *Lawrence*, and their Vessels upon the Banks of *Newfoundland*, &c. from Insults, but to keep up their Pretensions to the several Banks either *within* or *without* their Line, and make to themselves a Privilege of Fishing where they pleased, by force of Custom : And so early were these Encroachments on the *English* at *Canso*, and upon the fishing Banks along the Sea Coast of *Nova-Scotia* (from which *France* was wholly excluded by an express Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*) that it was found necessary to have one of the King's Ships sent every Year from *England*, and station'd at *Canso* to guard against them : And to such a Pitch had the *French* advanced the Trade, Shipping and Settlements of this Island by the Year 1744, that upon the breaking out of the War, Mr. *Duquesnel* then Governor of the Colony, within three Days after the Declaration of it arrived from *France*, fitted

fitted out an Armament under the Command of Mr. *Duvivier* from *Louisbourg* (being favoured therein by the casual Absence of the *Canso* Station Ship, omitted to be sent that Year, as was likewise the usual Station Ship to *Boston*) which entering the Harbour of *Canso* about 20 Leagues distant by Night, surprized the Fort, burnt it with the other Buildings there, destroyed the Fishery (as is before observed) and carried the Garrison, which consisted of about 80 private Men fit for Duty, to *Louisbourg*; where, by the Terms of their Capitulation they were to remain Prisoners of War for one Year from the 24th of *May* 1744, at the End of which they were to be sent by the *French* Governor, either to *Annapolis Royal* or to *New-England*.

Among the Artifices practised by the *French* of *Canada*, for paving their Way to regain the Possession of *Nova-Scotia*, and seize the first Opportunity for that Purpose; the following may serve as a remarkable Specimen: A short Time before the Declaration of War, and when the Colonies were in full Expectation of it, the *French* procured the *Indians* of *St. John's* River to send a Deputation of their principal Men to the Commander in Chief of *Annapolis Royal*, on pretence of renewing the Covenant of Peace and Amity with his Government (which was accordingly done with the usual *Indian* Formalities) but in reality to lull the Governor into a false Security with respect to the *Indians*, and at the same time gain Admittance into the Fort, in order to discover the State of it, and hold themselves in readiness to attack it, upon the first Summons; which they did, and together with the other *Indians* of their River composed Part of the Body, which invested the Fort under the Command of *Le Loutre*.

The first Notice, the *English* had of *Canso*'s being taken and burnt, was brought to *Boston* by a Fisherman, who had descried, as he was fishing upon a Bank opposite the Island, a Cloud of Smoke rising from some Ruins; and at the same time missed the Sight of the Block-house and

and other Buildings there, which used to be seen off at Sea from the Bank, he was upon ; and this was in a Day or two confirmed by another *Massachusetts* Fisherman, who after being chased by a *French* Vessel, went on Shore upon the Island, where he found all the Buildings in Ruins, and that the Garrison, Inhabitants and Cattle were removed off.

This Intelligence left the Governor and Council of the Province of *Massachusetts-Bay* no room to doubt from what Quarter the sudden Blow must come, and that the War, which before was expected to break out soon between *Great-Britain* and *France*, had been proclaimed in *Europe*.

For this Success *Te Deum* was sung at *Paris*, and publick Rejoicings made, and a pompous Account of it was published in the *French* Papers ; which, as the Conquest considered in itself appeared but small, was imputed to a Vanity of magnifying the slightest Actions to the World ; but *France* estimated it from the Importance, which the Destruction of the *English* Fishery, and the Reduction of the whole Province of *Nova-Scotia* would be of to her ; and looked upon her Success against *Canso* as a sure Forerunner of the Reconquest of the one, and the utter Destruction of the other ; both which they had in View to accomplish and that her Hopes were not without Foundation will appear from the State of the Province at this Juncture : The whole Defence of it, after the Reduction of *Canso*, consisted in the Fort of *Annapolis Royal*, the Works of which were of Earth revested with Timber, but so ruinous in several Parts, that the Cattle could walk over them into the Fort ; and the Garrison had not above 80 Men fit for Service, the rest being superannuated, or Invalids.

The following Circumstances increased the Alarm upon this Occasion : A few Months before the Arrival of this Account, the * *Massachusetts* Governor had received Letters from the † Lieutenant Governor and

Com-

* Governor *Shirley*.

† Lieutenant-Governor *Mascarene*.

Commander in Chief of the Province of *Nova Scotia*, acquainting him, that his Majesty's Fort at *Annapolis Royal* was in so defenceless a Condition, and the Garrison so weak, that in case of a sudden Rupture with *France*, they should, without speedy Assistance from *Boston*, be in Danger of falling into the Enemy's Hands: It was also known that his Majesty's Engineer for *Nova-Scotia* had, in the preceeding Winter received Orders from the Board of Ordnance, to build a new Fort of Stone at *Annapolis Royal*; as soon as the Season would permit, and that he was preparing to lay the Foundation of it; which would make the Garrison less attentive to repair the Works of the old Fort.

This Account therefore of the Motions of the *French* gave just Grounds to dread their following the late Blow, they had given *Canso*, with an immediate Attempt against the Fort of *Annapolis Royal*; the Reduction of which would have put them into the Possession of the whole Country of *Nova-Scotia*, with about 16,000 *French* Inhabitants, who were justly suspected of a Disposition to join with them against the *English*.

Wherefore to prevent the Garrison at *Annapolis Royal* from being surprized by the Enemy, and to apprise Mr. *Mascarene* of the Necessity of repairing the old Fort in the best manner, the ruinous State of its Works, and the short time he had to do it in, would admit; the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay* dispatched an armed Vessel in the Service of the Province, to *Annapolis Royal*, with an Account of the Motions of the *French*, and a Promise to send the Garrison a speedy Reinforcement.

Upon this Emergency likewise he represented to the Assembly the imminent Danger, his Majesty's Fort at *Annapolis-Royal*, with the *whole* Province of *Nova-Scotia*, was in; and pressed them to enable him to send it immediate Succours; whereupon with their usual Readiness to exert themselves upon all Occasions for his Majesty's Service and the common cause, they granted

ted a Bounty and other Encouragements for four Companies of Volunteers of 60 private Men each to enlist, together with three Months Provisions, and the Costs of their Transportation ; but as the Charge of maintaining the Garrisons of that Province appertained to the Crown, they left the Pay for the Officers and Men to be provided for by the Governor ; who accordingly proceeded to raise them with the utmost Expedition, upon the Faith of his Proclamation : but as the Urgency of the Service would not admit of staying till the whole Complement could be raised, and the Fate of the Province was brought to a Crisis ; as soon as 80 of them could be got ready to embark, which was within a few Days, he sent them under Convoy of the *Massachusetts* Snow of 16 Carriage Guns to *Annapolis Royal*, where upon their Arrival they found the Fort had been invested eleven Days by a Body of about 700 *Indians* mix'd with a few *French* Inhabitants in *Indian* Disguise, and the Priest *Le Loutre* at their Head : This Enemy, though without Artillery for making regular Breaches, yet as the Works were ruinous and assailable almost on every Side, attacked it without Interruption, but chiefly in the Night ; whereby the Garrison was kept in a continual Alarm in every Quarter, and both Officers and Men were so harrassed and worn out by constant Fatigue of Duty and continual Watches, that they could not have held out many Days longer : And it was perhaps in some degree owing to the Barbarity of a savage Foe, and the Reproach which would have arisen from the King's Fort's being given up, by a Garrison of regular Troops, to an undisciplined *Indian* Rout, with a Priest at their Head, together with the daily Expectation of Succours from *Boston*, that they held out in Defence of the Fort so long as they did.

Upon the Appearance of this Reinforcement in the Basin of *Annapolis*, and the Snow's saluting the Fort with a Discharge of its Cannon, the *Indians* were thrown into such Confusion and Panic, that they not only made a precipitate Retreat, and gave the Troops an Opportunity

nity of landing and marching into the Fort, without the least Opposition; but soon after dispersed, and could not be brought back to give the Garrison any Molestation, till Mr. *Duvivier's* Attempt against it two Months after.

This Relief gave the Garrison time to breathe, and repair the Works of the Fort, and kept the *French* Inhabitants, who by this Visit from *Boston* were persuaded that the Garrison would be effectually supported, in such respect, that upon the Departure of the *Indians* they renewed their Communication with it, and readily furnished whatever Materials and Workmen were wanted for strengthening the Fort; and supplied the Garrison with Refreshments.

Soon after this the *Massachusetts Governor* sent to *Annapolis Royal* a second Party of 100 of the new raised Succours, with an armed Brigantine belonging to the Province; which Reinforcement put the Garrison into a State of Security against an *Indian* Enemy, and the Fort by this time was so much strengthened, that it was not to be reduced without a Train of Artillery.

The fourth Company was designed to be composed wholly of *Indians*, if possible, to be employed in scouting Parties, through every Part of the Peninsula both by Land and Water, for which Service they were to be provided with two Row-Gallies, so that the raising and fitting this Company out took up more Time than the other three.

Whilst these Operations were carrying on, Mr. *Duvivier*, who commanded the Armament upon the Descent against *Canso*, was sent by * Mr. *Duquesnel*, immediately after his Return from that Expedition, upon another against *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*: This Attempt, in which he was disappointed by contrary Winds, made a very happy Diversion in favour of *Nova-Scotia*; where it was apprehended he would have immediately proceeded upon the Reduction of *Canso*; had he done that, he would have surprized the Fort and Garrison at *Annapolis Royal* as he did that at *Canso*; before they had got

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* Governor of *Cape-Bretone*

any Notice of the Declaration of War, or were in the least apprised of his coming.

It was indeed an Error in Mr. *Duquesnel's* Conduct, that he did not strike his first Blow at *Annapolis Royal*; his Forces, in conjunction with *Le Loutre's Indians*, must at that Time have secured the Conquest of it, before any other of the *English Colonies*, or even the Garrison at *Canso* could have gained Intelligence of the Attempt; this would have put him in Possession of the whole Province, except *Canso*, with 4 or 5000 fighting Men ready to join him; and the Reduction of *Canso* after that could not have been a matter of the least Difficulty; his Omission to avail himself of so favourable an Opportunity for making an Acquisition of this important Province at one Stroke, seems to have proceeded from his too eagerly grasping at *Placentia*, and the Destruction of the *English Fishery* at *Newfoundland*, almost at the same Instant; but to whatsoever Cause it was owing, it was certainly the Preservation of *Nova-Scotia* by giving an Opportunity for relieving it with Succours from *Boston*.

Upon Mr. *Duvivier*'s Return from the Expedition against *Placentia*, which was towards the latter End of August, Mr. *Duquesnel* lost no Time for making an Attempt against *Annapolis Royal*; and for that Purpose dispatched Mr. *Duvivier* with some Troops from *Louisbourg* to *BeauBasin*; there he landed, and being joined by the *Indians*, who waited his Arrival at *Minas*, proceeded with a Body of about 700 Men to *Annapolis Royal*, and invested the Fort, in Expectation of being soon followed up the Bay of *Funda* by three *French* Men of War of 70, 56 and 30 Guns, with 280 more Land Forces, and a large Train of Artillery and Ordnance Stores, that Mr. *Duquesnel* then depended upon sending him out of the Squadron, which at that Time lay in *Louisbourg* Harbour, and was destined to convoy the *West India* Fleet in their Return to *France*: These did not follow him; if they had, it would have enabled

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him to form a regular Siege by Land and Water against the Fort, and in all Probability to have carried it : However Mr. *Duvivier*, by assuring Mr. *Mascarene* in a Letter, that the *French* Ships were already got to the Mouth of the Bay, and that though he should fail of this expected Reinforcement, he was determined to spend the Winter in the Siege, so far succeeded, as to bring Mr. *Mascarene* to treat with him about a Surrender of the Fort, in case of the Arrival of those Ships, with the Land Forces and Ordnance Stores which he assured him, they had on board ; but this Treaty breaking off upon Mr. *Duvivier*'s insisting at last, that the Fort should be immediately put into his Hands upon his Promise to re-deliver Possession of it, if the expected Armament did not arrive by a *Time* limited ; and the Garrison most opportunely receiving a further Reinforcement by the Company of *Indian* Rangers about the same Time from the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay*, the *French* Commandant despairing of the Arrival of the Vessels with the Troops, Artillery and Stores, decamped and retired to *Minas*, with an Intent (as it was then apprehended) to winter there, and work upon the Inhabitants to join with him in an Attempt against the Garrison early in the Spring ; of their readiness to do which, their Behaviour ever since the Time of his having entered *Minas*, they had given great Reason to suspect them.

To prevent this by dislodging Mr. *Duvivier* and his Party from their Winter Quarters, and guard the Basin of *Annapolis Royal* against an Attempt by Sea with any small Vessels of War, which might be fitted out from *Louisbourg*, the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay* (who was then unacquainted with the Arrival of the *French* Squadron there) determined to send to *Annapolis-Royal*, though it was very late in the Year, an armed Snow, Brigantine and Sloop belonging to the Province, with Orders to take in some small Cannon and Mortars, with such a Detachment of Soldiers from the Garrison, as Mr. *Mascarene* could spare, and proceed to

to *Minas*, in order to land them with a Party of Seamen and drive Mr. *Duvivier* from thence ; and in the mean time acquainted Mr. *Marcarene* with this Design.

Whilst these Preparations were making at *Boston* in the latter End of *October*, the Governor had Intelligence brought him by a Fisherman from the Isle of *Seals*, that he had seen forty Hours before three *French* Vessels standing up the Bay of *Funda* ; these were found afterwards to be a Bunker of about 400 Ton with a Brigantine and Sloop, which Mr. *Duquesnel* upon being disappointed of Assistance from the Men of War had fitted out from *Louisbourg* in a warlike Manner, and order'd to proceed up the Bay of *Funda* with Ordnance Stores for attacking the Fort at *Annapolis Royal* by Sea, whilst Mr. *Duvivier*, whom he supposed they would find before the Fort, attacked it by Land ; whereupon the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay* dispatched, the Day following, a Schooner to Mr. *Marcarene* with Advice of the Designs of the *French*, and Assurances that he would send the three armed Vessels before-mentioned, all well appointed, in four Days to his Assistance.

The *French* Vessels accordingly arrived at the Narrows below the Basin of *Annapolis*, where they came to an Anchor till they could get Information, whether Mr. *Duvivier*, was still before the Fort : Two Days after, the *English* Schooner, which carried the Dispatches for Mr. *Marcarene*, inadvertently fell in among them in the Night Time ; and the Master in his Surprise suffered the Governor's Dispatches to fall into the Enemy's Hands ; the Effect of this was, that the *French* Commodore finding Mr. *Duvivier* had retired from before the Fort, and that a Naval Force was coming after him from *Boston*, cut his Cable and immediately quitted the Bay, and by that means escaped the *Massachusetts Vessels*, which entered the Bay soon after he had got out of it.

The *Massachusetts* Vessels upon their Arrival at *Annapolis Royal* attempted to look into the Basins of *Minas*

Minas and *Schicnecto* in quest of Mr. *Duvivier* and his Party, according to their Orders from *Boston*; and to assist the Inhabitants in such manner as Mr. *Mascarene* should direct: But the Season being very tempestuous, the Navigation of the Bay exceeding dangerous, and Mr. *Mascarene* having received certain Advice, that the *Indians* were dispersed, and Mr. *Duvivier* gone with the Remainder of his Party to *Louisbourg* (as in Fact he was) after staying at *Annapolis* till the latter End of *January* to countenance the Garrison, and keep the *French* Inhabitants in a proper Respect and Awe, returned to *Boston*.

Mr. *Duvivier* having retired to *Minas*, the Company of Rangers was posted without the Fort, under the Cover of the Cannon, and secured by such further Defence, as could be immediately raised with Pickets and other slight Works; which manner of posting them was better adapted for the Service they were to be employed in, at the same time, that it was more agreeable to them than to be lodged in Barracks within the Fort.

Before their Arrival, the Garrison was confined within the Walls of the Fort, so that the Spot upon which it stood might justly be said to be the only one in the Province, which they were Masters of: But these *Indians* under the Management of Officers who understood the proper Use of them, and to whose Orders they were perfectly obedient, soon freed it from that Restraint, and were in many other Respects of infinite Service to it: By their sudden Excursions (frequently made in the Night Time) into different Parts of the Province either by Land Marches, or Descents in their Row-Gallies, they gained Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy, and secret Correspondence kept up between them and the Inhabitants, and, when Occasion required, seized such of the latter, as appeared to be Ringleaders and the most dangerous among them; by which means, and sometimes by surprizing Parties of the

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Cape *Sable Indians*, which were found in the neighbouring Woods, they not only became a Terror to the *French* Inhabitants, but to the *Indians* too ; and the Garrison Troops, by going out with them in Parties, were likewise made serviceable in that Duty.

To these timely Reinforcements and Succours, the *Governor* and his Majesty's *Council* of *Nova-Scotia* in their Letter of Thanks to the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay* impute the Preservation of his Majesty's Garrison and the whole Province from falling into the Enemy's Hands that Year ; and his Majesty, upon having an Account of the Proceedings for the Preservation of the Province laid before him, was pleased in Council to declare his Royal Approbation of *his* Conduct therein, and that his Majesty would stand to the Engagements which *he* had made upon this Occasion in his Name ; and a Copy of his Majesty's Royal Declaration was accordingly transmitted to *him* at *Boston* under the Seal of the Council Office.

Whilst these Matters were in Agitation, a Flag of Truce arrived some Time in *August* at *Boston* from *Louisbourg* with *English* Prisoners to be exchanged, and Dispatches from Mr. *Duquesnel* to the *Massachusetts Governor*, who learned from the former, that the *Canſo* Soldiers were confined very close in unwholesome Prisons, and suffered great Hardships, by which some had died, and others been forced into the *French* Service ; and in the Letter, Mr. *Duquesnel* proposed to him a Neutrality between the *French* and *English* Colonies, so far as related to the Fishery ; as also that for the future the fishing Vessels of each Nation should carry on their fishing and prosecute their Voyages unmolested by the other ; in Answer to this Proposal, the *Massachusetts Governor* told him, he could not avoid expressing some Surprise, that after he had taken and burnt *Canſo*, destroyed the whole *English* Fishery along that Coast, and made the Fisherman Prisoners, *contrary* to the Treaty of Neutrality concluded in 1686 between the two

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Kingdoms, he should propose one upon the Foot of a private Convention between the Governors of two Colonies, and even without offering to indemnify the *English* for the Damages they had already sustained by his Hostilities from *Louisbourg*; that he was obliged likewise to acquaint him, he was sorry to hear, his Majesty's Troops which were made Prisoners at *Canso* by Capitulation for one Year only, underwent such Hardships in their Confinement at *Louisbourg*, as destroyed some of them, and forced others, for Relief, to engage in the *French* King's Service; whereby the Articles of the Capitulation were frustrated, and his Majesty was likely to have few or none of his Troops left to be returned at the End of the Year; that as he doubted not of Mr. *Duquesnel*'s Disposition to have the War carried on with Moderation and Humanity towards those, who should have the Misfortune to be made Prisoners on either Side, and a due Regard to the Rights of each Crown in its Subjects, who should be made Prisoners by Capitulation, he would propose that the *Canso* Troops should be sent to *Boston* as soon as might be, and he would be answerable that both Officers and Soldiers should perform the Conditions, upon which they surrendered; and he hoped Mr. *Duquesnel* would have no Objection to the Proposal, as his sending them away would ease the Government of *France* of the Expence of maintaining them, the Remainder of the Year.

The *French* Governor, upon receiving this Proposal, acquainted the *English* Officers with it; and let them know, he should accede to it, upon their giving their Parole, that neither they nor the Soldiers should serve against the *French* for the Space of one Year after the Expiration of that, for which they had agreed by the Articles of Capitulation to remain Prisoners: And upon their objecting to it, he told them, that as their remaining at *Louisbourg* would be inconvenient, he should, if they did not accept of these new Terms, be obliged to send them to *Quebec*; from whence it would be impracticable

cable for them to get Home long before the Time, he proposed to them.

Though the *French* Governor's exacting from the Officers this new Agreement, whereby the King was to be deprived of the Service of his Troops one Year longer than they had surrendered themselves for, was a manifest Infringement of the Articles of the Capitulation, and what the Officers had no right to consent to ; yet they thought it for his Majesty's Service to submit to it ; and accordingly gave their Parole ; upon which the Troops were sent to *Boston*.

Upon the Arrival of the Officers there the *Governor of the Massachusetts-Bay* gained such Intelligence of the State of *Louisbourg*, as with other Motives induced him to entertain a Design of forming an Expedition against it early in the succeeding Year.

These Motives were as follows :

With regard to the State of *Louisbourg*, it appeared that the Garrison and Inhabitants must be distressed in a short Time for want of Provisions, having been a few Weeks before exhausted by furnishing the *East India* Fleet and Squadron, which convoyed it, with Supplies for prosecuting their Voyage to *France*.—That the Troops of the Garrison, which consisted only of six Companies of Marines and one *Swiss* of 100 Men each were short of Complement, and badly disciplined, the whole greatly discontented, and the Company of *Swiss* very mutinous ; that the Inhabitants were but few, and most of them unacquainted with the Use of Fire Arms ; that several Parts of the Fortifications were out of Repair, particularly the Grand Battery, which had one End almost open, occasioned by a new Work's being unfinished, and many other Parts of it extremely low, and the whole commanded by a Hill close behind it.—That Mr. *Dutchambon*, who succeeded Mr. *Duquesnel*, then lately dead, as Governor of the Colony, was wholly unskilled in the Defence of a Fortification, the Engineer absent, and the other Officers not much used

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to military Discipline ; and that their Number of Troops was so small, as put it intirely out of their Power to defend the several Parts, they were liable to be attacked in.—That though the Harbour was strongly fortified, there were many convenient Places in *Chapeau Rouge Bay* for landing Troops, Cannon and Stores on the back Side of *Louisbourg*, free from any Annoyance, and laying up the Transports in such manner, that the Troops might have it in their Power to Retreat to them upon an Emergency ; that the City of *Louisbourg* had no Batteries upon the Land Side ; and the Extent of it was so small, that every House in it was exposed to the Bombs and Cannon of the Besiegers ; which must oblige both Inhabitants and Soldiers when off Duty, to retire into the Casmates, that were extremely damp and unwholsome.—That the Grand Battery, which could not make any Defence by Land, and from the before-mentioned State of it appeared not to be tenable, when attacked on that Side, would probably be deserted on the first Approach of an Enemy ; and that by getting Possession of it, and erecting Faschine Batteries near the Light-House, and in other convenient Places, it would be difficult, if not impracticable for any Ships to enter the Harbour against the Fire from them.—Upon all which Accounts it was extremely improbable that the Place should hold out long against a Body of 3 or 4000 Men without Succours from *France*, which might be prevented from receiving Intelligence of its Circumstances in Time to send it Relief, by the armed Vessels, which might be collected in the Colonies, and would be a sufficient Force to intercept whatever might come from *Canada*, as also any Merchant Ships with Provisions from *France* in the Spring.

The other Motives, which induced the Governor to think of forming an immediate Expedition against it, were—That Mr. *Duvivier* was sent by Mr. *Duquesnel*, a short Time before his Death, to *France*, in order to represent to the Government the weak Condition of

Annapolis

Annapolis Royal, and State of the whole Province of *Nova Scotia*; and to procure an Armament from thence early the next Year to make an Attempt against it:— That the *New-England Fishery* was wholly destroyed; as would likewise the Trade of the Northern Colonies be by the *French* Ships of War and Privateers from *Louisbourg* the Year following; that the Reduction of *Louisbourg* would be the most effectual Means of securing *Nova-Scotia*, restoring the *English Fishery*, and destroying that of the *French*, and protecting the Trade of the Colonies; and would facilitate the *Conquest of Canada* itself, if that should be thought proper to be attempted in the succeeding Year: But in case the Success of the Expedition should fall short of the Reduction of *Cape Breton*; yet the certain Effects of it would be the recovering of the Island of *Canso*, and the whole Fishery along the Coast as far as *Newfoundland* by destroying the Buildings, and breaking up all the Settlements and Fishery upon the Island of *Cape Breton*; the causing such a Diversion as would probably secure *Nova-Scotia* for the following Year at least; and the disarming the Harbour of *Louisbourg* of the Grand Battery; which would make it more practicable for the King's Ships to enter it; in case a naval Armament should be sent against it from *England*; all which would greatly over-pay the Expence of the Attempt.

It was not doubted, that the *French* would form another Attempt from *Canada* against *Annapolis Royal* early in the Spring; but as the Fort was then in a much better Posture of Defence by the Repairing of its old Works, and the Addition of new ones, and its Garrison strengthened with the several Reinforcements sent from *Boston*; and it appeared probable to the *Massachusetts Governor*, that the Expedition against *Cape Breton*, which he had determined to set on Foot, would make a considerable Diversion in favour of it, he sent no further Reinforcements to it that Year: Early in the Spring 1745, Mr. *Marin*, as was expected, invested the fort with about

1100 French Indians from Canada, but could make no Impression upon it ; he continued however his Hostilities there, till the Landing of the *New England* Troops upon the Island of *Cape Breton*, whereupon the French Governor found means to send for him to come to his Assistance ; which broke up the Siege of *Annapolis Rayal*, and ridded the Province of the Enemy for sixteen Months.

About the Middle of January 1744-5 the *Massachusetts* Governor recommended it in a Message to the Assembly to prosecute an Expedition against the Island of *Cape Breton* early in the Spring.

The Assembly, upon the Secretary's laying the Message before them, bound their Members to Secrecy ; and after three Days close Deliberation upon it, sent him an Answer ; the Substance of which was, " that " they were sensible of the Necessity there was for " making an Attempt, as soon as possible, for the Re- " duction of the Island of *Cape Breton* ; but the Un- " dertaking was too great for the Abilities of the Pro- " vince, and prayed him to represent to his Majesty, how " essential it was for the Security of the Colonies and " his Service in *North-America*, that an Expedition " should be fitted out from *England* against this Island, " and that they were ready to contribute towards the " Prosecution of it to the utmost of their Power."

If every Advantage proposed by the Governor in this Expedition had depended upon effecting the *Reduction* of the Island, the Measure recommended by the Assembly must have been more eligible to him than setting on foot, without the Sanction of the King's Orders, an Attempt of that Consequence ; which, if it had failed of Success, might have been condemned as imprudent and rash ; but as he was fully persuaded of the high Probability, or rather Certainty of succeeding at *least* in the other Points before-mentioned, particularly the Preservation of his Majesty's Province of *Nova-Scotia* from the

the Danger, it appeared to be threatened with that Year from *France*; the recovering the *English* Fishery, and Destruction of that of the *French*; and that the same Advantages, which presented for effecting this early in the Spring, could not be expected afterwards in the Course of the War, he thought it incumbent on him to avail himself of that Opportunity for promoting the *National* Interests as well as those of the *Northern Colonies*; which must have been lost, if he had waited till he could have received his Majesty's Pleasure thereupon.

The Subject of the Assembly's Deliberations, and the Result of them, notwithstanding the Care taken to keep them secret, had so far transpired, that *Marblehead*, the principal fishing Town, and *Boston* the chief trading Town and Metropolis of the Province had determined to Petition the General Court to have the proposed Expedition set on foot; and the Governor thereupon moved the Assembly in two other Messages to resume the Consideration of this Enterprize; and the more effectually to induce them to come into it, recommended to them to examine the Persons, from whom he had received his Intelligence, concerning the Practicableness of it.

The Assembly immediately entered into a second Consideration of the Affair, and after spending three Days more in examining the Persons, whom the Governor referred them to, with the closest Attention, came to the following Resolves.

“ That it was incumbent upon the *Massachusetts Government* to embrace the favourable Opportunity, which then offered, for attempting the *Reduction* of the Island of *Cape Breton*.

“ That the Captain-General should be desired to issue his Proclamation for the enlisting 3,000 Volunteers (which they increased after to 3,250), for that Purpose, under such Officers as he should appoint.

“ That Provision should be made for furnishing the necessary warlike Stores for the Expedition.

“ That four Months Provisions should be laid in.

“ That

“ That a Committee should be appointed to procure fit Vessels to serve as Transports, to be ready to depart the Beginning of *March*.

“ That a suitable Naval Force should be provided for their Convoy, as the General Court should thereafter order.

“ And that Application should be forthwith made to the Governments of *New-York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island*, to furnish their respective Quota's of Men and Vessels to accompany or follow the Forces of the Province.”

From these Resolves it appears, that this Expedition was *undertaken* by the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay* before it was known, whether any of the other Colonies would assist them in it; and upon this Circumstance in a great Measure depended the Success of it; neither the Dispatch nor Secrecy, with which it was to be pushed on, would admit of a Participation of Councils with the other Colonies in the Formation and Direction of it: The Length of Time, it would have taken up before all the Governments concerned would have agreed, first upon the Expediency of the Attempt, afterwards upon their respective Quota's of Troops and other Expence, the Plan to be form'd, the Partition of Command in the Execution of it, and other Points, would in all Probability have rendered the Scheme abortive; whereas, when the voting of every thing requisite for carrying the Attempt on in the best manner centered in the Assembly of *one* Province, whose Governor had the Direction of the whole, there was a fair Prospect of succeeding in it: It was besides an easier Task to bring the other Colonies to accede to an Expedition, in which they were deeply interested, after it was resolved upon, and undertaken by the *Massachusetts Government*, than to induce them to a Concurrence in it at first, as Principals: But if every one of the other Governments had failed to assist in it, as some of them in fact did, the *Massachusetts*

chusets was determined to have taken the *whole Burthen* of prosecuting it upon themselves.

The Governments, which joined with the *Massachusetts Bay* in this Expedition, were those of *Connecticut*, *New-Hampshire*, and *Rhode Island*; the first voted 500 Men for the Service, upon Condition that the *Massachusetts* Governor would give the commanding Officer of their Forces the second Commission in the Expedition, which he accordingly did by his Commission: The Province of *New Hampshire* voted 300, and the Colony of *Rhode Island* the same Number.

The Colony Naval Force for this Enterprize consisted of 3 Frigates of 20 Guns each, a Snow of 16, a Brigantine of 12, and 5 armed Sloops mounting from 8 to 12 Carriage-Guns, provided at the Expence of the *Massachusetts Bay*; and of the *Connecticut* and *Rhode Island* Sloops, both of 10 or 12 Carriage Guns, and a small armed Vessel from *New Hampshire*.

The Train of Artillery collected by the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay* consisted of 8 Cannon of 22 lb Ball, 12 of 9 Pound, 2 Mortars of 12 Inches Diameter, one of 11, and one of 9, taken from his Majesty's Castle *William* in the *Massachusetts* Harbour, being all that could be spared from thence without weakening the Fort too much, and ten Cannon of 18 Pound Ball borrowed by him for this Occasion of the Governor of *New York*: This is the whole, which could be procured in Time, and the *Massachusetts* Governor depended upon its being increased with some Pieces of Ordnance from the Grand Battery in *Louisbourg* Harbour, soon after the landing of the Troops upon the Island; in Confidence of which a suitable Quantity of 42 Pound Ball was transported from *Boston* with the rest of the Ordnance Stores for the Siege.

As the *Massachusetts* Assembly at first entered into the Expedition upon the coolest Deliberation; so did they on the other hand exert themselves with uncommon Vigour in the Prosecution of it: As soon as the Point

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was carried for undertaking it, every Member which had opposed it, gave up his own private Judgment to the public Voice, and vied with those, who had voted for the Expedition, in encouraging the Enlistment of the Troops, and forwarding the Preparations for the Attempt.

The Bounty, Pay, and other Encouragements allowed by the *Massachusetts* Government to both Officers and Men, especially the former, was small ; but the *Spirit*, which reigned through the Province, supplied the Want of that ; the Complement of Troops was soon Inlisted ; not only the Officers, who served in this Enterprize, were Gentlemen of considerable Property ; but most of the Non-commissioned Officers and many of the private Men had valuable Farms, and enter'd into the Service upon the same Principles that the old *Roman* Citizens in the first Consular Armies used to do, with a Resolution to behave like Men, who were to fight *pro aris et focis* ; which they were persuaded was the Case in this Enterprize.

The Vote of Assembly for undertaking the Expedition was not passed till the 25th of *January*, when intense cold Weather begins to set in ; yet all the Vessels of War were got ready for the Sea, (the principal one of which was but then lately put upon the Stocks), the Transports were provided, the Provisions, Artillery, Ordnance, and other Stores shipp'd, the whole Arment equipped, and the Troops embarked at *Boston*, within seven Weeks after the Governor had issued his Proclamation for setting it on foot, and several of the armed Vessels were upon their Station before *Louisbourg*, many Days before, in order to hinder Intelligence or Supplies from getting in ; and to prevent it's being sent from the Colonies Embargoes were laid, and every Precaution taken ; and the Preparations were conducted with such Secrecy, that the first Notice, which the *French* had of the Attempt, was given them by the Appearance of the *English* in *Chapeau Rouge* Bay.

The *Massachusetts* Governor, from the Beginning, depended

depended on the Assistance of some of his Majesty's Ships in *North-America*, and as soon as the Expedition was determined upon, sent an Express Boat to the late Sir *Peter Warren*, then *Commodore Warren*, at *Antigua*, acquainting him with it, and desiring his Assistance in it with such Ships, as could be spared from his Majesty's Service in the *Leeward Islands*; at the same Time he informed the late Sir *Chaloner Ogle* of it, who was then upon the Point of returning Home from *Jamaica* with a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships, and propos'd to him to make *Louisbourg* in his Way; and as soon as the Troops were embarked, he acquainted his Majesty's Ministers with the Expedition, and his Motives for setting it on Foot, informing them, that 4000 *New England* Forces would be landed upon the Island of Cape *Breton* in *April*, if no unforeseen Accident prevented; but that in case it should not be his Majesty's Pleasure to support the Expedition, he had concerted Measures in such manner, as to provide a safe Retreat for them; that though he could not take upon him to promise the Reduction of the Island, yet he would be answerable for the Success of the Attempt so far, as that *Canfo* should be recovered for his Majesty, all the Buildings in the Town of *Louisbourg*, and upon the whole Island destroyed, the *French* Fishery depending upon it broke up; and the *English* Fisheries upon the Bank of *Nova-Scotia*, and all along the whole Coast as far as *Newfoundland* restored; and that at least the Grand Battery in the Harbour of *Louisbourg* should be taken, so that the Advantages gained in the Expedition would abundantly recompense for the Expences incur'd in it, even though it should fail of the Reduction of the Island to the Obedience of his Majesty; and he desired particular Directions, whether in case a Conquest should be made of the Island, he should cause the Forts and Works in the Harbour to be demolish'd, or kept to be garrisoned by his Majesty's Troops.

Upon the Arrival of the Express sent to *England*, it
was

was determined there to support the Expedition, and in consequence of it his Majesty's Ships *Princess Mary*, *Hector*, *Chester*, *Canterbury*, and *Sunderland* were dispatched with Orders to join Mr. *Warren's* Squadron at *Louisbourg*, which they did during the Siege; in Answer to the Dispatches sent to Sir *Chaloner Ogle* at *Jamaica* Admiral *Davies* who relieved him, acquainted the Governor, that he had pressed him much to comply with the Proposal of his Letter, but could not prevail on him to do it: And in Answer to his Letter sent to Mr. *Warren* at *Antigua*, he received one from him, dated the 24th of *February*, inclosing a Copy of the Consultation of the Captains then present, held on Board the *Launceston* the 23d of *February*, in which was set forth, "That
 " Commodore *Warren* having laid before them a Letter
 " from Governor *Shirley* of his Majesty's Province of
 " *New-England*, together with a Scheme for attacking
 " and surprizing the Fort and Town of *Louisbourg* and
 " *Cape Breton*, requesting some of the Ships from that
 " Station, to his Assistance, they had taken the same into
 " their mature Consideration, and it appearing the said
 " Scheme had been undertaken without first receiving
 " his Majesty's Approbation, and that no Orders had been
 " sent by the Lords of the Admiralty for any Ships
 " giving their Assistance, and that the taking any
 " of the Ships off those Stations (in the Room of the *Wey-*
 " *mouth*, which had been unfortunately lost) would be
 " a great weakening of those Islands, and could be of no
 " great Service in such an Undertaking, and it might be
 " attended with bad Consequences, as a Squadron of
 " the Enemy's Ships were daily expected at *Martnique*."

" They therefore unanimously agreed and gave it as
 " their Opinions, that it would be most for his Majesty's
 " Service for Commodore *Warren* to send the *North*
 " *America* stationed Ships away to their respective Sta-
 " tions, and remain there himself in the *Superbe*, till
 " Answers could return to his Express from *England*
 " by the *Mercury*, whom, it was their Advice to send
 " away

" away immediately with the Account of the unhappy
 " Accident that had befallen the *Weymouth*, and Copies
 " of Governor *Shirley's* Letters and Schemes, in order to
 " receive their Lordships Directions thereupon."

This Pacquet arriv'd at *Boston* the Day before the *New England* Fleet sailed from thence for *Louisbourg*, at which time the Governor was not certain that the Expedition would be supported with any of his Majesty's Ships ; and as the Contents of it, if publickly known, could have had no good Effect for his Majesty's Service at that critical Conjunction, he did not think it adviseable to communicate them to the General Assembly, or any Person whatever except the Commander in Chief of the Expedition, and the General Officer then next in Command to him.

A few Days after Mr. *Warren* had dispatched the Express Boat back to *New England*, his Majesty's Sloop *Hind* arrived at *Antigua* with Orders for him to " repair forthwith to *Boston* " with such of the Ships " under his Command, as could be spared from his Majesty's Service in the Parts where he was stationed, in " order to concert Measures with Governor *Shirley* for " the Protection of the Trade, Annoyance of the Enemy, and his Majesty's General Service in *North America*."

Pursuant to these Orders, Mr. *Warren* forthwith sailed from *Antigua* in the *Superbe*, taking with him his Majesty's Ships *Mermaid* and *Launceston*, with an Intention to proceed directly to *Boston* ; imagining that Mr. *Shirley* upon receiving the late Answer to his Letter desiring the Assistance of some of the Ships under his Command in the Expedition against *Cape Breton*, had let drop all Thoughts of proceeding in it ; but upon getting Intelligence in his Passage, that the *New England* Armament had sailed from *Boston* for *Louisbourg*, and was to stop a short Time at *Canfo Island*, he changed his former Sentiments concerning the unadviseableness of prosecuting the Enterprize without his Majesty's express

F Orders ;

Orders ; and by a Schooner, which he took up at Sea, acquainted Mr. *Shirley*, that instead of coming to *Boston* he should proceed directly to *Canso*, there to consult with the General, and from thence go before *Louisbourg* and assist in the Expedition ; and as he was short of Provisions, Ammunition and other Stores for that Service, he desired Mr. *Shirley* to send him thither the Quantities expressed in his Letter, as speedily as he could.

What rendered this News still more agreeable to the *Massachusetts Government* was, the great Esteem they had for Mr. *Warren* on account of his known Disposition for promoting his Majesty's Service in the Northern Colonies, the Opinion they entertained of his Vigilance and other Qualifications for the SeaCommand upon that Expedition, and the good Understanding, which subsisted between him and the General of the Land Forces.

On the 24th of *March* 1744-5 the *Massachusetts* Troops amounting to 3250, exclusive of Commissioned Officers, embarked at *Boston*, and sailed under the Convoy of the *Shirley* Galley, Captain *Rous* Commander, and arrived the 4th of *April* at *Canso* Island, which was appointed by the Governor to be the Place of Rendezvous for the Transports and Cruizers, and for a Communication of Intelligence between himself at *Boston*, the General of the Land Forces before the City of *Louisbourg*, and the Commander of the Ships before the Harbour ; as also for lodging all Stores not in immediate Use in the Camp and Fleet : Here they found the *New Hampshire* Forces, consisting of 304 Men and Officers, had arrived four Days before them ; and on the 25th they were joined by the *Connecticut* Troops, amounting to 516, inclusive of Commissioned Officers : As to the 300 expected from *Rhode Island*, they did not join the Forces of the other Governments till after *Louisbourg* was taken.

Chapeau-Rouge Bay, which was the Place appointed for landing the Troops, being so filled with Ice as to make that impracticable before the latter End of *April*, the

the Forces were detained until then at *Canfo*; where the General form'd the Detachments ordered to be employed in the several Attacks proposed to be made immediately after the landing the main Body at *Flat Point Cove*, according to the Plan of Operations which had been concerted at *Boston*, and there given him in Charge by the Governor's Instructions.

During the Stay of the Troops at *Canfo*, a Blockhouse was erected upon a Hill there picketed round, and defended by eight Cannon of nine Pound Ball; and two armed Vessels sent into *Bay Verte* in the Gulf of *St. Lawrence*, to take or destroy some Vessels which, according to Information, lay there in order to take in Provisions for *Louisbourg*.

In the mean Time, April 18th, the *Renommée*, a French Ship of War of 36 Guns nine Pounders with 300 Seamen and 50 Marines, charged with public Dispatches, fell in with the armed Vessels in the Service of the *Massachusetts* Government before *Louisbourg* Harbour, where she maintained a running Fight with them, but got clear by outsailing them: This Ship afterwards fell in with the *Connecticut* Troops under the Convoy of their own Sloop, and that of *Rhode-Island*, the latter of which she attack'd and damaged considerably; but finally the Sloop got off, as did the Transports and other Sloop, during the Engagement: And after making two more Attempts to push into the Harbour without Success, she returned to *France* without having delivered her Pacquets, from whence she sail'd again the Beginning of *July*, with six Ships more, being the *Brest* Squadron destined against *Annapolis Royal*.

April the 22d his Majesty's Ship *Eltham* of 40 Guns arriv'd at *Canfo* from *New-England*, under Orders from Mr. *Warren*; and the 23d Mr. *Warren* in his Majesty's Ship *Superbe* of 60 Guns, with the *Launceston* and *Mermaid* of 40 Guns; and after staying there some Hours, and conferring with the General by Letter sailed to *Louisbourg* in order to cruize off the Harbour.

On

On the 29th of April the Troops embark'd in four Divisions of Transports, and sailed for *Chapeau-rouge* Bay, with an armed Snow and two armed Sloops in the Service of the *Massachusetts* Government, under the Fire of whose Cannon they were to land: And at the same time a Detachment of 270 Men, under the Command of a Colonel, and Convoy of an arm'd Sloop in the Pay of *New-Hampshire* Government, were sent to *St. Peter's*, a small *French* Settlement on *Cape Breton*, with Orders to take the Place, burn the Houses, and demolish the Fort; which was accordingly effected.

On the 30th of April, between Nine and Ten in the Morning, the Fleet having the main Body of the Troops on board came to an Anchor in *Chapeau-rouge* Bay, at the Distance of about two Miles from *Flat Point Cove*: Upon the Discovery of this the Enemy fired some Cannon, and rang their Bells in the Town to alarm and call in their People living in the Environs, and sent out of the Town a Detachment of about 150 Men, under the Command of Mr. *Boularderie*, late an Officer in one of the Regiments in *France*, to oppose the landing of the Troops; whereupon the General made a Feint of landing a Party of his Men in Boats at *Flat Point Cove*, in order to draw the *French* thither (which had its Effect) and upon a Signal from the Vessel those Boats returned, and joined another Party under his Stern, from whence were landed two Miles higher up the Bay, about 100 Men, before the Enemy could get up there; whom they briskly attack'd, though under the Advantage of being covered with their Woods, after killing six of them upon the Spot, taking as many Prisoners, (among whom was Mr. *Boularderie*), and wounding several others, forc'd the Remainder to make a precipitate Flight towards the Town, in which some others were taken Prisoners, with the Damage sustained on the Part of the *English*, of only two Men being slightly wounded: On the same Day about 2000 more of the Troops were landed without Opposition, and the Remainder, being near 2000, the Day following. On

On the Day following a Detachment of 400 Men marched round to the North-east Harbour, behind the Range of Hills there, and burnt all the Enemy's Houses and Stores in the Neighbourhood, at the Distance of about a Mile from the Grand Battery; whereupon the Enemy deserted it the same Night, leaving the Artillery, consisting of 28 Cannon of 42 Pound Ball, and two of 18 Pound, with the Ordnance Stores (except their Powder, which they threw into a Well), so precipitately, that they only spik'd up their Cannon in a slight Manner, without knocking off the Trunnions, or doing other Damage to them, and but very little to the Carriages: The next Morning a Party of sixteen Men discovered, that the Enemy had abandoned the Grand Battery, and drove off a Party of them, as they were attempting to reland there that Morning in Boats.

As soon as the *New England* Men had taken Possession of the Grand Battery, the *French* kept an incessant Fire against it with their Cannon and Bombs both from the Town and Island Battery; the former of which is distant 5913 Feet from it, and the latter 4800; notwithstanding which three Cannon in the Grand Battery, which pointed against the Town, were cleared by the Day following, and the Enemy's Fire was returned upon the Town from them, as was that from their Island Battery soon after, by other Cannon, which pointed against it, and were drilled within a few Days.

The *New England* Troops, within the Compass of 23 Days from the time of their first landing, erected five Fascine Batteries against the Town, mounted with Cannon of 42 lb. 22 lb. and 18 lb. Shot, Mortars of 13, 11, and 9 Inches Diameter, with some Cohorns; all which were transported by hand, with incredible Labour and Difficulty, most of them above two Miles; all the Ground over which they were drawn, except small Patches or Hills of Rocks, was a deep Morass, in which, ^{if} the Cannon were upon Wheels, they several times sunk so deep, as not only to bury the Carriages, but their whose

whole Bodies : Horses and Oxen could not be employed in this Service, but all must be drawn by Men, up to the Knees in Mud ; the Nights, in which the Work was done, were cold and foggy, their Tents bad, there being no proper Materials for Tents to be had in *New England*, at the Out-set of the Expedition : But notwithstanding these Difficulties, and many of the Men's being taken down with Fluxes, so that at one time there were 1500 incapable of Duty, they went on without being discouraged, or murmuring, and by the Help of Sledges transported the Cannon and Mortars over these Ways, which the *French* had always thought impassable for such heavy Weights ; and besides this, they had all their Provisions and heavy Ammunition, which they daily made use of, to bring from the Camp over the same Way upon their Backs.

To annoy the Besiegers in making their Approaches, and carrying on their Batteries, the Enemy erected new Works, from which, as well as from the Cannon of other Batteries, and their Mortars, they continually maintained a strong Fire, till they were silenced.

The most advanced of the *New England* Batteries (which was finished the 17th of May) was within the Distance of 250 Yards from the West Gate of the Town ; so that from this Battery several of the Enemy were killed by the Musquetry of the Besiegers, as were some of their Men by the Enemy from the Walls ; and indeed this Battery was so near the Enemy's Works, that the Men were obliged to load the Cannon there under the Fire of their Musquetry, which was very sharp on both Sides, the *French* generally opening the Action every Morning with the Fire of their small Arms for two Hours ; which was constantly returned with Advantage : The Execution done from the Batteries of the Besiegers was very considerable ; the West Gate was entirely beat down, the Wall adjoining very much battered, and a Breach ^{made} in it at about ten feet from the Bottom of the Wall :

The

The circular Battery of 16 Cannon, 24 Pounders, near the West Gate (and the principal one against Ships next to the Grand Battery, and Island Battery) was almost entirely ruined, and all the Cannon but three dismounted : The North-east Battery, consisting of two Lines of 42 and 32 Pounders, in all 17 Cannon (another principal Battery against Ships) was damaged, and the Men drove from their Guns ; the West Flank of the King's Bastion belonging to the Citadel, and the Battery there of six 24 Pounders, which pointed to the Land Side, and greatly annoyed the Works of the Besiegers, was almost demolished : Two Cavaliers of 24 Pounders each, raised during the Siege, and two other Cannon of the same Weight of Metal, run out at two Embrazures cut through the Parapet near the West Gate at the same time, (all pointing against the *New England* Batteries, were silenced : The Citadel was very much damaged : several Houses in the City entirely demolished, and almost every one, more or less hurt ; and *Maurepas* Gate, at the Eastermost Part of the City, shattered : And as cross Fires from the Cannon and Mortars of the Besiegers ranged through the Streets in every Part of the City, and through the Enemy's Parades, whereby many were kill'd, it drove the Inhabitants out of their Houses into Casmates, and other cover'd Holds, where they were obliged to take Refuge for some Weeks : And besides this, the Fire from the Grand Battery annoyed the Barracks of the Island Battery.

During this Time the *New England* Parties of Scouts so thoroughly ranged the Woods, that they seldom returned without bringing in some Prisoners ; which very much confined the Enemy within their Walls, who were constantly worsted in all Skirmishes, and repulsed in every Sally, which they made, frequently by an inferior Number of Men, and with very little loss upon these Occasions sustained on the Part of the *New England* Men.

On the 26th of May, after some ineffectual Preparations

tions for making an Attack upon the Enemy's Island Battery, which is a strong Fort built on a rocky Island, at the Entrance into the Harbour, mounted with 30 Cannon of 28 Pound Shot, and having some Swivels upon its Breast Work, and two Brass 10 Inch Mortars, with 180 Men, it was at Night attempted by a Party of 400 Men in Boats; but from the Strength of the Place, and the Advantage which the Enemy had by being under Cover, and the Assailants exposed in open Boats, the Surf running high, the Men not being thoroughly acquainted with the best Place for Landing, and the Enemy besides (as is most probable) being apprized of their Design, they were repulsed with the Loss of having about sixty killed and drowned, and one hundred and sixteen taken Prisoners; however several of them got within the Enemy's Battery and killed some of them.

It being judged extremely dangerous for his Majesty's Ships to enter the Harbour, till the Enemy could be annoyed in that Battery; and thought after the last Attempt impracticable to reduce it by Boats, it was determined to erect a Battery near the Light-House opposite to it, and at 3400 Feet distance from it; and the same was by the 11th of June, notwithstanding the almost insuperable Difficulties, which attended the Drawing of the Cannon up a steep Bank and Rock, raised in such a Manner, as not to be exposed to more than four of the Enemy's Cannon, and at the same Time to flank a Line of above 20 of their Guns; and two 18 Pounders were on that Day mounted, and began to play; by the 14th of June four more Cannon of 18 Pound Shot were added, and on the 15th a Mortar of 13 Inches was removed thither out of which 19 Bombs were thrown, 17 whereof fell within the Island Battery, and one of them upon the Magazine of Powder; and this, together with the Fire from the Cannon of the Besiegers, which flanked the Enemy's Cannon and Line of Barracks, so annoy'd them, that they could not remain with Safety in any Part of the Fort.

And

And now the Grand Battery being in the Possession of the *New England* Men, the Island Battery (esteemed by the *French* the Palladium of *Louisbourg*) so much annoyed from the Light-House Battery, that they could not entertain Hopes of keeping it much longer ; the North East Battery damaged, and so much expos'd to the Fire from the new advanced Battery, that they could not stand to their Guns ; the circular Battery ruined, and all its Cannon but three dismounted ; whereby the Harbour was disarmed of all its principal Batteries ; the West Gate of the City being demolished, and a Breach made in the adjoining Wall ; the West Flank of the King's Bastion almost destroyed ; and most of their other Guns, which had been mounted during the Time of the Siege, being silenced ; all the Houses and other Buildings within the City (some of which were quite demolish'd) so damaged, that but one among them was left unhurt ; the Enemy extremely harrassed by their long Confinement within their Casmates ; and their Stock of Ammunition being almost exhausted, Mr. *Duchambon* sent a Flag of Truce to the Camp on the 15th Day of *June* in the Afternoon, desiring Time to consider of Articles of Capitulation ; which was accordingly granted till next Morning, when they sent Articles which were rejected, and others proposed in their Stead, and accepted by the Enemy : And Hostages being exchanged on the same Day for the Performance of the Articles, on the Day following, being the 17th of *June* (49 Days after the *New England* Men landed upon the Island) the City was surrendered, and the Garrison, consisting of about 650 Regular Troops, and the Inhabitants of the City, being about 1300 effective Men, besides Women and Children, made Prisoners by Capitulation, with the Loss of no more than 101 Men killed by the Enemy, and all other Accidents from the Time of their Landing to the Reduction of the Place, with about 30 who died of Sickness.

In the Articles of Capitulation proposed by Mr. *Duchambon*

Chambon †, it was provided, that upon his Surrender of the Island the Inhabitants should have their Option either to transport themselves and their Moveables to *France* or *Canada*, or to remain in *Cape Breton*, and enjoy their Estates there with the free Exercise of their Religion; but former Experience of the mischievous Effects of the like Indulgence to the Inhabitants of *Nova Scotia* or *Acadie* by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, occasioned the latter Part of the Proposal to be rejected, and they were only permitted, by the Ratification of the Articles finally concluded on, to transport themselves and their Effects either to *France* or *Canada*; but not to remain in the Colony.

Upon the Surrender of *Louisbourg* the Inhabitants of the Island of St. John's made their Submission, desiring to be included in the Articles of Capitulation granted to those of *Cape Breton*, and delivering Hostages for the Performance of them on their Part, which was accordingly granted.

During the Siege some of the *New England* Cruisers made a Descent upon the Island of St. John's, in which they burnt some Houses, and committed other Ravages; and Parties of the Besiegers broke up all the Fishing Settlements at *Cape Breton*; and on the 19th of *May*, the *Vigilant*, a *French* Ship of War of 64 Guns, bound for *Louisbourg* with Ordnance Stores, fell in with the *Mermaid* of 40 Guns, Captain *Douglas*, who was cruizing at a small Distance from *Louisbourg*, and by maintaining a running Fight decoyed the *French* Commander to follow him till he got in among Mr. *Warren*'s Ships, who took him after an Engagement of some Hours, in Sight of the Camp at *Louisbourg*; which cut off from the Enemy all Hopes of any Succour, and gave great Spirit to the Land Forces in carrying on the Siege; and on the 14th of *June*, it was determined by the General and Commodore to make an Attack by Land and Sea, as soon as his Majesty's Ships *Sunderland* and *Canterbury*,

† Governor of *Cape Breton*.

terbury, which were then daily expected, should arrive ; accordingly the next Day all the Transports were ordered off to take out the spare Masts and Yards, and other Lumber of the Men of War ; and the Soldiers employed in gathering Moss to barricade their Netting, and 600 of them were put on Board the King's Ships at the Commodore's Request to assist in the Attack by Sea ; but the intended Assault was prevented by the French Governor's sending out a Flag of Truce, as is before mentioned, on the 16th, and the Surrender of the Fort and Batteries in the Harbour the Day following.

The Attempt against *Louisbourg* not being yet known either in *France*, or any part of the *West Indies*, the *English*, after they were in Possession of it, kept the *French* Flag flying in the Port for a Decoy to the *French* Ships bound thither ; this had its Effect in drawing several valuable Prizes to it ; particularly three homeward bound Ships from the *South Sea* and *East Indies*, having rich Cargoes on Board, to the Amount of above 600,000 l which were prevented from entering the Harbour, as they were making it, by some of Mr. *Warren's* Squadron then lying there, which just went out to make Captures of the *French* Ships before they could get in.

It seems dubious, whether the taking of these Ships under such Circumstances was a Capture within the Intent of the King's Proclamation, and intituled the Captors to the Benefit of them : If it was not, the Ships and their Cargoes belonged of Course to the publick Treasure ; and, in such Case, would of themselves have more than doubly paid the Nation's Expence in the Reduction of the Island ; but this Point not being moved in the Court of Admiralty, where they were condemned, the Captures were treated as ordinary Captures at Sea, and the Ships and Cargoes adjudged as Prizes to the Officers and Crews of the Ships concerned in taking them.

Upon Mr. *Duvivier's* Arrival in *France* the preceding Winter, and representing to the Court of *Versailles* the

the weak State, he left *Nova Scotia* in, upon which Commission, as has been observed, Mr. *Duquesnel*, the late Governor of Cape *Breton*, had sent him, it was determined to fit out an Armament from *Brest* for the Reduction of it; and a Squadron of seven Ships accordingly sailed from thence for *Annapolis Royal*, the Beginning of *July* 1745; but upon gaining certain Intelligence from a Vessel, which they took in their Passage, that the *English* were in Possession of *Louisbourg*, and had a strong Squadron there, they desisted from prosecuting their Enterprize against *Nova Scotia*.

The immediate Consequences of the Expedition were the recovering the Possession of the Island of *Canso*, restoring the *English* Cod Fishery, and breaking up that of the *French*; the Capture of the greatest Part of the *French* Trade, which that Year passed through the *Atlantic* Ocean; the freeing *Nova Scotia* of the Attempts with which it had been continually harrassed from *Canada* the Year before, and the Preservation of it against the Armament, which was fitted out from *Brest* in *July* following.

Soon after making this Acquisition to his Majesty's *American* Dominions, a new Scene of Difficulties opened in providing for the Preservation of it, till Troops could be sent from *Europe* to garrison it; which was not done till the Spring following.

Much the greatest Part of the *New-England* Forces, especially those of the *Massachusetts Bay*, were (as hath been observed) Farmers, who own'd valuable Freeholds in the Country, and entered into the Service with an Expectation of returning home as soon as the Siege was ended, without considering the Necessity of staying to keep Possession of *Louisbourg*, till they could be relieved by other Troops; that Zeal and Ardour, which made them the foremost to engage in the Expedition and encounter all Difficulties in making the Conquest, when that was made, sooner abated in them, than it did in those who had no Property in the Country, and were only

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Mercenaries in the Service : The Thoughts that their Husbandry Business and Families were both suffering by their Absence, made them uneasy at being detained at *Louisbourg* ; and this increased by the inactive Garrison Duty, which succeeded the Toils of the Siege, and a salt scorbutic Diet (both which they had been unaccustomed to) made them sickly, and soon grew into Discontent ; which spread so much, that the *General* acquainted the *Massachusetts Governor*, his Presence was necessary to allay it ; and, in the mean time, to pacify the great Numbers, which daily pressed him for Discharges, referred them to him, telling them that he had represented their Case to the *Governor*, who only had Power to discharge them, and would come to *Louisbourg* in a short time ; and desiring them to cease their Importunity for being dismissed *only* till his Arrival.

Other Calls likewise required the *Governor's* Presence at *Louisbourg* ; a Notion that the Captors were intitled to the Soil of the Island had so far prevailed there, that Mr. *Warren*, in his first Letter to him from thence after the Reduction of it, desired his Opinion upon that Point.

Tho' this Mistake was very palpable, as the Expedition was at first set on foot under a Proclamation of the King's Governor, issued by Virtue of his general Authority received from the Crown ; carried on by Officers under his Commission, issued by the same Authority ; the Soldiers inlisted expressly into his Majesty's Service for the Expedition ; both Officers and Men subjected to Courts Martial erected by his Governor upon that Occasion ; and paid with the King's Money (for such was every Sum raised to defray the Expence of the Expedition, being granted by A&t of Assembly to his Majesty for that Service) all which was signified to the *Commodore* in Answer to his Letter ; yet so strongly had the Opinion been adopted, that it was still entertained, and a Day thought of for proceeding to make a Distribution of part of the conquered Lands among such of the Officers and Soldiers, as would engage to settle upon them.

It

It was evident how ill concerted a Measure this would prove, if in the End of the War his Majesty should think fit to make a Restitution of Cape *Breton* to *France*; both on account of the Disappointments it must have occasion'd to those, who should have Lands assigned them, and the public Murmurs it might be attended with: A Court of Vice Admiralty was likewise appointed at *Louisbourg* (in derogation of the Jurisdiction of his Majesty's high Court of Admiralty in *England*) for the Condemnation of the *French* Ships and their Cargoes; and Notice sent to the several *British* Colonies upon the Continent, that Sale would be made of them under such Condemnation at a Time prefixed; all which Proceedings, if carried into Execution, would probably have produced great Confusion; and it was therefore incumbent upon the *Governor*, under whose Commission this Acquisition was made for his Majesty, and to whom consequently the Exercise of his Majesty's Government within the new Colony appertained, until his Majesty's Pleasure should be known, to use his utmost Endeavours to prevent or rectify.

Another forcible Reason for the *Governor's* repairing to *Louisbourg* was; the Commodore had at first taken and kept Possession of one or more of the Land Batteries, with his Marines; and once taken the Keys of the City Gates into his Custody, and interfer'd in the Naval Office: These A&ts, though gone into by him on the sudden, and but of a very short Continuance, were aggravated to the *Massachusetts* Assembly by inflammatory Reports from *Louisbourg*; and, together with other Steps he had taken, which they conceived derogatory to the Honour of the Province in the late Expedition, gave such Umbrage, that they were urgent to the last Degree with the *Governor* to proceed directly to *Louisbourg*, and take the Government of it upon him; promising in his Absence to encourage and forward the raising Recruits for relieving the Troops, which had been employed in the Siege; and to use every other Measure for sup-

supporting the new Conquest from *Boston*; all which, in the Temper they were thrown into, they would have been slack in doing, if the Governor had not complied with their Desire; and besides, the Troops at *Louisbourg* were impatient for his Arrival there: He therefore determined to proceed thither in his Majesty's Ship *Hector*, which Mr. *Warren* had sent to *Boston* for that Purpose, and waited for him.

Before he embark'd, the commanding Officer of the *Rhode-Island* Troops, which were then just raised, arrived at *Boston*; with Dispatches from the Governor of that Colony, acquainting him, that the Troops were ready, and he had sent the Officer to him for his Orders: This being an acceptable Corps de reserve towards relieving the Troops at *Louisbourg*, and, as it happened, most opportunely raised than if they had assisted in the Siege, he ordered directly thither.

Upon the Governor's Arrival at *Louisbourg* a general Joy appeared in the Troops, which was still highten'd in the Men by an Expectation of having a short Day fix'd for their being relieved: on the other hand, the Necessity which the Governor was under of disappointing these Hopes in a grert measure, was no small Embarrassment to him: It was thought most adviseable upon this Occasion, that he should speak to every Regiment separately, and that Regiment spoke to first, which was thought to be the least discontented; he observed to them, " that it was a most unreasonable Notion, " which he heard some had entertained; that the Expedition was to end with the Siege and Surrender of *Louisbourg*; that they had entered into it, in order to make a Conquest (which to their Honour they had happily effected) for the Service of their King and Country, not to abandon it immediately after to the Enemy: That for securing the Benefit of it, it was necessary a sufficient Number of them should keep Possession till they could be relieved by other Troops, which he hoped would soon be done by some " of

“ of his Majesty’s Regiments from *Europe* ; and in the
 “ mean time, till they should arrive, Recruits were
 “ raising in the Colonies for the same Purpose ; that as
 “ fast as they were transported to *Louisbourg* the Sol-
 “ diers of the present Garrison should be sent Home ;
 “ and that he should discharge as many of them in pre-
 “ sent, as was consistent with the Safety of the Place ;
 “ that before he left *Boston*, he had taken care to get their
 “ Bounty enlarged, and other Votes of Assembly passed
 “ in their favour ; and for those, whose Lot it should be
 “ to remain in Garrison some time longer, nothing in his
 “ Power should be wanting for their Ease and Comfort
 “ in that Situation,”

The Regiment first spoken to expressed their Satisfaction in the Assurances given them, by the usual Acclamations on such Occasions ; which Example was followed by the rest ; and their late Uneasiness so greatly subsided, that for five or six Weeks they went through every Part of their Duty with great Chearfulness and Alacrity ; particularly upon an Alarm of a *French* Squadron’s having passed by, supposed to be destined for *Annapolis Royal*, on which Occasion 600 Soldiers were wanted on board Mr. *Warren*’s Squadron, which was upon the Point of sailing to the Bay of *Funda* in quest of it, that Number entered as Volunteers into the Service, and came on board his Ships in 14 Hours Time.

At the End of six Weeks an Uneasiness again broke out among them, and grew much higher than the former, towards raising which many Circumstances concurred.

A Sickness, which swept off in the whole 15 or 1600, daily increased among them : The *Massachusetts* Troops, which made three fourths of the Garrison, had been disappointed in their Expectations of several things from the Assembly ; the Cloaths and Woollens, they carried with them, were soon worn out in hard Duty during the Siege ; and a sufficient Quantity was not to be purchased in the *Massachusetts* Province for relieving their immediate Wants, as the Assembly had undertaken to

to do, that they might have them at the prime Costs; the Pay allowed them had from the Beginning been much less than the Establishment for the *Connecticut* Troops; and their Families, according to the usual Course of *Colony* Pay, could receive no Part even of that till the End of their Service: And further, a new Nation had been infused into all the Troops, that three Months being elapsed since the Surrender of the Place, they had a Right to demand their Dismission; which the greatest Part of them had entered into a Combination to do early the next Morning upon the public Parade before the Fort.

Late in the Afternoon before this Design was to be put in Execution, Information was given of it to the Governor; whereupon two or three of the Ring-leaders were secured, and the Men off Duty ordered into their Barracks.

In a Council of War called upon this Occasion it was the unanimous Opinion, that the Pay of the *Massachusetts* Troops ought from that Day to be raised to the *Connecticut* Establishment; that if the Governor would give them an absolute Promise, that that should be done, it would be satisfactory to them; but that if he proceeded no further than to assure them he would exert his best Endeavours with the Assembly to have their Pay raised, their present Temper and Discontent were such, as that it would have no effect upon the Men.

Orders were given the same Night, that an extraordinary Number of Officers should continually walk the Rounds till Morning; and that the several Regiments should be very early drawn up at their respective alarm Posts for the Governor to speak to them: Accordingly the Day following "he promised the *Massachusetts* Troops, that their present Pay of 25s. per Month of the new Tenor *Massachusetts* Currency, should from that Day be raised to 40s. to all such of them as should be detained at *Louisbourg* till Spring; acquainted them that for providing Cloaths for them, as

" far as was in his Power, he had, two Months before,
 " desired the Governor of *New York* and *Pensilvania*
 " to procure for him what Woollens they could at *New-*
 " *York* and *Philadelphia* upon his own Bills, in ad-
 " dition to what the Assembly should be able to buy up
 " in *Boston*; that he had lately received Advice that a
 " large quantity of Woollens were shipped for him from
 " *Philadelphia*, and that he expected a supply of
 " Cloaths of all Kinds, and Bedding for them would
 " speedily arrive at *Louisbourg*; that he had ordered
 " the Muster-Rolls of every Company to be made up,
 " and each Man's Account stated; and would take
 " care upon his Return to *Boston*, that whatever was
 " due to any of them, should be forthwith paid to
 " their respective Orders: And he informed the Troops
 " in general, that he expected a considerable Number
 " of Recruits were now upon their Passage to *Louis-*
 " *bourg*; that he would discharge by the Middle of
 " *October* as many of those, who had serv'd at the
 " Siege as would reduce the Garrison to 2000; which
 " Number, it was absolutely necessary he should retain
 " during the Winter for the Security of the Place; and
 " he would besides permit a Number, not exceeding
 " thirty, such as the Army should pitch upon, to go
 " to *New-England* upon Furlow, in order to procure
 " such Necessaries or Conveniencies for them, as they
 " should desire."

Upon these Assurances they were pacified, and no Discontent appeared afterwards among them during the whole Time of their Service at *Louisbourg*.

After the Governor's coming to *Louisbourg*, all tho'ts of a Distribution of the conquered Lands among the Captors were lay'd aside; a Stop was put to the Proceedings of the new Court of Vice Admiralty, and intended Sale of the *French* Ships and Cargoes; all Points were settled to general Satisfaction, and an Harmony subsisted, the whole time between the Governor, *General* and *Commodore*; the latter of whose Conduct with regard to the several Points, upon which the *Massachusetts* Assem-

Assembly had conceived some Disgust, the Governor stated in so just a Light to them, that upon his recommending a Letter of Thanks to be sent him by the General Court for his public Services, a Vote was accordingly passed for paying the Compliments of the Province to him, at the same time that they voted the like to be sent to the General.

The Conquest of Cape *Breton* afforded the *English* great Advantages for attempting the Reduction of *Canada*, as the Possession of it together with *Nova Scotia*, gave them the intire Command of the Gulf of St. *Lawrence*, and Entrance into the River *Canada*, so that they had it then in their Power to cut off *Quebec*, in which consists the principal Strength of the Country, from receiving any Support from *France*: Many other Circumstances likewise concurred to favour an Attempt against it the next Year.

It appeared from undoubted Accounts, that *Niagara* and *Cadaraqui* (*Frontenac*) were then so weak, that the *French* were apprehensive, the first News, they should hear would be, that the *English* had taken those Forts; especially as they could not send a sufficient Number of Men from *Canada* to defend them for want of Provisions.

The Weakness of the latter of these Places was a most material Circumstance; as the safest and best Way then for carrying Troops into the Enemy's Country was by *Oswego*, across Lake *Ontario*, and down the River *Iroquois* (called by the *French* St. *Lawrence*) the Passage through which to *Montreal* being with the Stream, may be made in four Days, and affords good Places for encamping every Night free of Ambuscades, with a safe Landing for the Men upon the Island of *Montreal*; from an Eminence on which, it is said, it may be easily reduced in a few Hours; and there is besides a small Island within Cannon Shot of the City, which was at that time without any Fortifications, and with not above twenty Inhabitants upon it, and being taken would have

greatly

greatly favoured the Attack of that Place ; so that a Descent made on *Montreal* by 2000 Troops through this Route, at the same time that a like Body of them made another by *Chambly*, across the Lake *Champlain*, must have absolutely secured the Reduction of it.

According to the best Information, the Number of fighting Men in all *Canada*, including their regular Troops, did not then exceed 12,000 ; nor their *Indians*, which they call *Domiciliés*, or Resident within *Canada*, 900 : And what were esteemed two very favourable Circumstances were, that the Government of *Canada* was, at that time, so jealous of the *Indians* of the Six Nations, that the *French* Traders were strictly forbid to employ any of them in carrying their Goods over the *Niagara* Carrying-place, for fear they should take away their Powder, and then seize upon the Fort ; and that upon the Reduction of *Cape Breton*, *Canada* was look'd upon by the Inhabitants to be in so desperate a State, that it was thought, if it was made known there, that such of them, as would not take up Arms against the *English*, should be permitted upon the Reduction of the Country to remain there, and enjoy their Estates and Fortunes, and that such, who did take up Arms, should be oblig'd to leave *Canada*, and forfeit their Estates, not one Man in ten would appear in Arms.

The Governor therefore concerted Measures with the General and Mr. *Warren*, then lately made Admiral *Warren*, who both agreed with him in Sentiment, for forming an Attempt against it the next Year ; and before his leaving *Louisbourg*, he and the Admiral proposed the making one in a joint Letter to his Majesty's Ministers for their Consideration.

November the 30. The Governor having stayed at *Louisbourg* as long as the Season of the Year would permit, and the Occasions of his Majesty's Service in his Government of the *Massachusetts Bay* would allow of his Absence, and done every thing in his Power for the Security of the new Acquisition, until his Majesty's Troops,

Troops, which were expected very early in the Spring, should arrive to take possession of it, embarked for *Boston*; where he landed in the beginning of *December*.

The Spring following an Expedition by Land and Sea was formed by his Majesty's Orders in *England* for the Reduction of *Canada*, under the Command of Lieut. General *St. Clair*, to be attempted with eight Battalions of regular Forces in conjunction with such Troops, as could be raised in time for it in *North America*; together with a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships under the Command of Rear Admiral *Warren*.

Upon this Occasion the general Plan, which had been concerted in *England* for that Service, was transmitted to the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay*, with his Majesty's Orders to him, that upon the Arrival of Lieut. General *St. Clair* at *Louisbourg* he should proceed thither with such Troops, as he was able to raise by that Time within his own Government, in order to consult with the General and Admiral upon the most adviseable Scheme for effecting the Conquest of *Canada*; and acquainting him that in case they and he should think, that any other Plan might be more practicable, it would be left to them three to do as they should think proper.

By the Plan sent from *England* it was proposed that the Troops to be raised in the *Massachusetts Bay*, *New Hampshire*, *Connecticut*, and *Rhode Island* should rendezvous at *Louisbourg* as soon as possible, and proceed up the River *St. Lawrence* with his Majesty's Ships and the regular Troops to *Quebec*; and those raised in the Colonies of *New York*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland* and *Virginia* should rendezvous at *Albany*, in order to proceed from thence across the Country by Land to *Montreal*, as soon as they should receive Intelligence that his Majesty's Ships had entered the River *St. Lawrence*, and form the Siege of that Place.

As to the particular Number of Men to be raised in any of the Provinces, that was not limited by his Majesty; but it was signified in his Instructions to his Governors,

vernors, that his Majesty hoped the Troops, which should be raised in the several Colonies, would amount in the whole to at least 5000.

Whilst Preparations were making in *England* and the the *British Colonies* in *North America* for prosecuting this Enterprize, the *French* were employed in fitting out an Armament from *Brest* and the *West Indies*, which, in Conjunction with a Body of Land Forces to be raised in *Canada*, was destined for the Reduction of *Nova Scotia*.

The Quota's of Troops raised in the several Colonies concerned in the Expedition against *Canada* were as follows ; the *Massachusetts Bay*, which is ever the leading Province in all Enterprizes for his Majesty's Service and the common Cause, set the first Example upon this important Occasion ; and notwithstanding it had lost near 2000 of its fighting Men in the Service of the preceding Year, granted a Bounty for encouraging the enlisting of 3500, with such a Sum as should be necessary for defraying the Expence of Transports and Provisions for them : A Bounty was given by the Province of *New York* for enlisting 1600 ; by the Colony of *Connecticut* for 1000 ; by *New Hampshire* for 500 ; by *Rhode Island* for 300 ; by the *New Jerseys* for 500 ; by *Maryland* for 300 ; by *Virginia* for 100 ; and 400 Men were raised in *Pensilvania* ; amounting in the whole to 8200, exclusive of the four Independent Companies of *New York*, whose Complement is 100 Men each.

The Colony Troops were raised with great Dispatch ; and, though the Packets containing his Majesty's Orders for the several Governors did not arrive at *Boston* till the latter End of *May*, yet the *Massachusetts* Forces with their Transports were got ready to proceed to *Louisbourg* by the Middle of *July*.

The most commodious Route for the March of Troops with Artillery from *Albany* to *Montreal* being over the Lake *Iroquois*, commonly called Lake *Champlain*, by *Fort St. Frederick* upon *Point de Cheveux*, called

called by the *English Crown Point*; the Reduction of that Fort was thought very material; though it should not prove any great Obstruction to a large Body of Forces in passing by it, yet it was not adviseable to leave it on their Backs; especially as the Passage across the Lake ought to be open for a Communication of Intelligence between the Colonies and Army, as also for the Transportation of Provisions, Stores, and even Reinforcements, which it might be necessary to send after it in Support of the Siege of *Montreal*.

Exclusive of this, there were two other very strong Reasons for making this Attempt; the Western Frontiers of *New England* and the Province of *New York* as far as the City of *Albany*, had experienced most mischievous Effects from this Fort; it served the *French* as a Place of Rendezvous to fit out Parties from, both of *Canadeans* and *Indians* to make Incursions and Depredations upon the adjacent Territories of the *English*, which they had greatly galled even during that War, burning and destroying the whole Village of *Saratoga*, and Fort *Massachusetts* itself; and was likewise a Place of Safety for them, upon their Retreat from any of these Enterprizes: It was besides absolutely necessary to employ as soon as possible the *Indians* of the Six Nations, who were much depended upon for their Assistance in this Attempt; as the *English* had lost their good Opinion and Respect, together with their former Attachment to their Interest in nothing more than suffering the *French* to build this Fort, so nothing could more retrieve their Influence over them, and all the *Indians* dependent upon them, than the Reduction of it: The Acquisition therefore of this Fort, in case even of the other Parts of the Expedition's being dropped or attended with Misfortune in the Prosecution of it, would in a great measure, of itself, recompence the Northern Colonies for their Expence in it.

As therefore the Season of the Year was advancing, the Armament from *England* not arrived at *Louisbourg*,
and

and an Attempt for the Reduction of this Fort before the *English* Fleet had entered the River *St. Lawrence* was not a material Variation from the general Plan formed in *England*, and would redeem Time for carrying on the Siege of *Montreal*, the Governor of the *Massachusetts Bay* proposed to Admiral *Warren*, who was joined with him and General *St. Clair* to settle the Plan of Operations for the general Expedition, to employ in present a sufficient Part of the Colony Troops, as well those of *New England* as of the Southern Provinces, in an Attempt against the Fort at *Crown Point*; which was accordingly agreed upon, and the necessary Dispositions concerted between them, and the Governor of *New York*, who then had the chief Command of the Southern Troops, and was hearty for the Enterprize.

In *August 1746* Mr. *De Ramsay* entered *Minas* with a Body of 1700 *Canadeans* and *Indians* with Design, as was then apprehended, to work upon the *Acadians* to take up Arms against the *English*, and in case he could not effect it that Year, to winter there, and prepare them for it against the ensuing Spring: But it afterwards appeared, that his principal View was to be ready to join in an Attack upon the Fort at *Annapolis Royal*, as soon as the Armament fitted out from *Brest* the same Year under the Command of Duke *D'Anville* for the Reduction of *Nova Scotia* should arrive in the Bay of *Funda*; in expectation of which he proceeded to the District of *Annapolis River*, and encamped within one Mile and an half of the Fort.

The *Massachusetts* Governor, upon receiving Intelligence from Mr. *Mascarene* of Mr. *De Ramsey's* Motions, determined to send 1500 of the *Massachusetts* Troops to *Annapolis Royal*, to prevent the Execution of his Designs, the Remainder of them being then destined to make an Attempt against the *French* Fort at *Crown Point*, in Conjunction with those of *New-York* and the Southern Governments; and ordered 600 of them to be forthwith embarked; Admiral *Warren*, who was then

at

at *Boston*, ordered at the same time his Majesty's Ship *Chester* from thence to reinforce the Ships in *Annapolis* Harbour : The *Chester* arrived in a few Days at *Annapolis*, and 400 of the *New England* Forces soon after.

About the same time Mr. *Conflans* arrived before *Chebucto* (now *Halifax*) with four capital Ships from *Cape Francois* under Orders to join Duke *D'Anville* ; but after cruizing there some Days without hearing any thing of his Squadron, and imagining that the Destination of it was altered, quitted the Coast ; Notice of the Appearance of these Ships was soon brought to *Boston* by Fishermen off those Banks ; but as they disappeared so soon, the Alarm, they occasion'd, lasted not long.

Some Days after the Departure of Mr. *Conflans*, Duke *D'Anville* arrived in *Chebucto* Harbour with a few Ships, after a tempestuous Passage, which had dispersed his Squadron at Sea ; and not finding any of the rest there was so much affected with that and other Disasters of his Voyage, that he destroyed himself in two or three Days, and was buried privately upon a small Island in the Harbour. The Remainder of the *French* Ships except one or two, which were lost upon their Passage, arrived by degrees at *Chebucto*, a few Days after, in a shattered Condition, with the Men in a very sickly State ; the Number of these Ships was so large, and their Force so great, that they had the Appearance of a very formidable Armament, and gave a general Alarm along the whole Coast as far Westward as *New-York* : A Visit being daily expected from them at *Boston*, the Governor within three Days, drew 8 or 10,000 of the Militia of the Province thither to oppose the landing of Troops ; and the Assembly, upon this Occasion, gave him an unlimited Power to strengthen the Works at *Castle William*, and do whatever he should think necessary for the immediate Defence of the Harbour ; in consequence of which, Preparations were made for blocking up the Entrance of the Channel there, and to give the Ships a proper Reception in their Approach to the Town ; and within a few Weeks such additional Works were made

to *Castle William*, as have rendered it, for its Extent, the most considerable Fortress by Sea in his Majesty's *American Dominions*.

An *English* Admiral then lay in *Louisbourg* Harbour with seven of his Majesty's Ships of the Line well appointed and strongly mann'd ; and at the same Time the Arrival of Admiral *Lestock* with the *English* Squadron and Armament from *England*, destined to be employed up the River *St. Lawrence* in the Expedition of *Canada*, was daily expected on the Coast ; the *Massachusetts* Governor, to give the former of these Admirals the best Intelligence, that could be obtained of the Strength of the *French* Squadron, sent a small Schooner to reconnoitre it in *Chebucto* Harbour, and carry him a distinct Account of it ; which was executed ; and from the Condition, in which it was found, it was thought by the best Judges, that the Ships, which the *English* Admiral had with him at *Louisbourg* were of sufficient Force to have attacked and destroyed the *French* Ships in *Chebucto* ; which he was much pressed to attempt by a Sea Commander of great Distinction, then Governor of Cape *Breton* ; and at the same time the *Massachusetts* Governor sent three small Vessels to cruize on several Parts of the Coast, in order to fall in with Admiral *Lestock*'s Squadron, which was still expected in *America*, to give him Information of the *French* Ships, and pilot him into *Chebucto* ; which must have secured the utter Destruction of the *French* Squadron.

During the Consternation, which the Appearance of the *Brest* Squadron at first occasioned, *Nova Scotia*, and the Garrison of *Annapolis Royal*, with the Ships in the Harbour were in the general Opinion given up for lost ; whereupon the *Massachusetts* Governor desisted from sending more Troops to *Annapolis* ; but it afterwards appeared, that the Detachment of Troops sent last from *Boston*, and the *Chester* eventually proved the Preservation of the Garrison and Province ; for soon after their Arrival at *Annapolis*, Mr. *De Ramsay* who had then advanced within less than a Mile and half of the

the Garrison, and encamped in open View of it, apprehending the Number of Troops to be double what they were, and that another large Embarkation of them, with a greater Sea Force was soon to follow, and despairing of the Arrival of the *French* Armament that Year, (the time by which it was expected upon the Coast being long elasped) suddenly decamped, sent 1200 of his Troops back to *Canada*, and retired with the Remainder to *Minas*; from whence he communicated the false Alarm, he had taken at *Annapolis Royal* to Mr. *La Jonquiere*, who succeeded Duke *D'Anville* in his Command at *Chebucto*; which, as it afterwards appeared from the Examination of several intelligent Merchants and others, who had been carried Prisoners into *Chebucto* by *French* Cruizers, (whilst the Armament lay there) and were conversant with the *French* Officers, prevented Mr. *Jonquiere* from sending some light Frigates up the Bay of *Funda* with Troops, Ordnance Stores and Artillery; as indeed it cannot be reasonably doubted that he would have done, had not the Reinforcement been sent to *Annapolis*, and Mr. *De Ramsay* had remained with his Party before the Garrison; in which Case, he must have infallibly made himself Master of *Nova-Scotia*.

In the Beginning of November Mr. *La Jonquiere*, after having spent about eight Weeks in *Chebucto* Harbour in recovering his Men from their sickly State, and repairing his Ships, some of which he burnt in the Harbour, partly for want of Men to navigate them without too much weakening his other Ships, and partly for want of the Means of repairing them, sailed out of the Harbour, steering his Course for the Bay of *Funda*; but upon his making *Cape Sable*, with an Appearance of a Design to send at least some of his Ships up the Bay to look in at *Annapolis*, an excessive hard Gale drove him off the Coast, and dispersed his Ships: However, a few Days after, two of them returned, one of which, a 50 Gun Ship, went up the Bay, expecting (as was supposed) to find the rest there, as high as the Narrows, but being discovered from the Fort, and thereupon chased by the *Chester*, she escaped out of the Bay. Thus

Thus ended this Expedition of the most formidable Armament, that was ever fitted out against the Coast of *North America*, and which, including the four capital Ships Mr. *Conflans* brought from *Cape Francois*, was computed to consist of near half the naval Force of *France*: To compleat their Series of Catastrophes, some of them were lost, and others taken in their Return Home; and another mischievous Effect of their Expedition was, that Mr. *La Jonquiere*, by his Presents of the Cloaths of the Seamen and Soldiers, who died on board his Ships of a contagious Distemper, to the *Cape Sable Indians* in the *French* Interest, communicated the Infection, and destroy'd near two-thirds of them.

In the mean time Dispositions went on for preparing the Attempt against *Crown Point*, in forwarding which at *Albany*, supplying Necessaries for the Southern Troops, and engaging the *Indians* of the Six Nations in it, the * Governor of *New York* had many Difficulties to struggle with, which he surmounted; and Preparations had proceeded so far, that Battoes were provided for the Transportation of the Men, Artillery, and Stores across *Lake Champlain*; Ordnance Stores and Provisions were sent from *Boston*, and a Train of Artillery from *New York* to the Fort at *Saratoga*; and by the Middle of *October* 1500 of the *Massachusetts* Troops were upon their March from *Albany* to join those of the Southern Governments.

However, the general Alarm which had been occasioned by the Appearance of the *French* Armament upon the Coast of *Nova Scotia* had suspended the Prosecution of the intended Attempt till the Season of the Year was so far advanced, that one or more of the Colonies concerned in it judged it too late to proceed, and refused to join with the Province of the *Massachusetts Bay*; and a Disunion of Councils in this Point finally prevented its being carried into Execution.

Mr. *De Ramsay* still remained in *Nova Scotia*, with about 500 *Canadians* and *Indians*, Part in *Chiegnecto* and Part at *Minas*; the Inhabitants of the former of these

* Governor *Clinton*.

these Districts were openly devoted to the *French Interest*, those of *Minas* and *Annapolis River* at that time wavering ; his Scheme was to Winter in the Province, and gain over the whole Body of *Acadians* to take up Arms, and join with him in an Attempt upon the Fort at *Annapolis Royal* early in the Spring : To compass this he summon'd the Deputies of all the Districts to attend him ; told them he had Intelligence that the *Governor* of the *Massachusetts Bay* was sending a large Body of Troops from *New England* to force them off their Possessions, and exhorted them to join him, and stand upon their Defence ; and he had proceeded so far with them as to induce them to promise to make Report of what he had proposed to them, to their respective Principals, and let him know their Resolutions by a limited time.

There appeared Danger in this Scheme ; had Mr. *De Ramsay* been suffer'd to go on unmolested in his Practices upon the Inhabitants during the whole Winter, what Effects he might have wrought on some of them by his Perswasions, upon others by Menaces, was uncertain ; but if he had succeeded, it must have hazarded the Loss of the whole Province by the ensuing Spring : To counteract therefore Mr. *De Ramsay* and frustrate his Designs, the *Massachusetts Governor* determined, though the Winter was then far advanced, to attempt driving him out of *Minas*, as soon as a fresh Recruit of Troops could be sent to *Annapolis Royal*.

In the mean time, to prevent him from making any Progress in gaining over the Inhabitants, he immediately transmitted from *Boston* to Governor *Mascarene* a Number of printed Copies of a Declaration translated into *French*, and signed by himself, to be dispersed throughout the Districts of *Minas* and *Annapolis River* ; wherein he assured the Deputies and Inhabitants, " that such " of them as should remain firm in their Allegiance to " his Majesty should be protected in the Possession of " their Lands and just Rights, according to the Treaty " of *Utrecht* ; letting them know at the same time, that " he should very soon send a sufficient Force to *Minas* " to

" to remove Mr. *De Ramsay* and his Party from thence,
 " and protect them from the Insults of the *French* and
 " their *Indians* ; and in particular assuring them, that
 " the King's Soldiers should not live upon free Quar-
 " ter, nor be suffered to commit Acts of Violence or
 " Maroding among them, but that they should be fully
 " satisfied for all the Provisions and other Necessaries,
 " which they should supply the Troops with during
 " their being quarter'd among them."

These Declarations arrived very seasonably at *Annapolis* ; Mr. *Mascarene* found means to disperse them among the Deputies and Inhabitants before the Day, by which they were required to give Mr. *De Ramsay* their Answer, and they had the Effect to make them unanimous in declaring to the *French* Commander their Resolution to trust to the Assurances given them by the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay*, of being protected in the Enjoyment of their Estates by the King of *Great Britain*, and absolutely refusing to take up Arms and join with the *Canadians* : And they immediately signified the same to Mr. *Mascarene*, with their several Addresses to Mr. *Shirley*, thanking him for the Protection he had promised them, and declaring their Resolutions to be loyal Subjects to the King.

In the latter End of *November* and Beginning of *December*, the Troops destined for *Minas* embark'd at *Boston* for *Annapolis Royal* ; one of the Transports with the greatest Part of the Soldiers on board was lost in its Passage upon the Rocks near *Monts Deserts*, the Remainder arrived safe ; and in a few Days, being strengthened with a Party from the Garrison, embark'd for *Minas*, and entered *Grand Pré*, the chief Town in that District, about the latter End of *December*.

The *French* Commander upon having Intelligence of their Arrival at *Annapolis*, and their Embarkation for *Minas*, had quitted the District and retired with his Party to *Schiegnecto*, the extreme Part of the Peninsula : The Season being extremely severe hindered the *New England* Men from immediately following him thither,

thither, as the commanding Officer had Orders to do; so that they determined to wait till the Rigour of it was abated.

On the last Day of *January* the *French* Commander having gained Intelligence of their being distributed in Quarters at a great Distance from each other, and being secretly encouraged with the Promise of Assistance from some of the Inhabitants, made a March, which was tho't impracticable in that Season of the Year, through the Woods with a Party of *Canadians* and *Indians*; and taking the Advantage of a violent Snow-Storm, which had lasted 36 Hours, entered the Town immediatly after, at Midnight, and surrounded most of them in their Quarters; the greatest Part of whom were killed, wounded or taken Prisoners: In the mean time, those Parties which were not surrounded, marched out and forced their Way through the Enemy to the Guard-House, being a large defensible Stone Building, situated in the middle of the Town; and some others, which had been surrounded, beat off the Party which attacked them and recovered it: The next Morning two Companies marched out of the Guard-House to make an Attempt upon the Enemy's headQuarters, but having been surprized without their Snow-Shoes, and finding in the March, that the Snow was too much drifted for them to reach the Enemy, after having made two Discharges of Musquetry upon them, they were obliged to desist from their Attempt: The Day following Mr. *La Corne*, who then commanded the *French* and *Indians*, proposed a Parley, which was agreed to; and afterwards that each should bury their Dead; Terms of Capitulation were then offered to the *New-England* Men; the Substance of which was, that upon surrendering the Fort, they should have leave to march out with Drums beating and Colours flying, and other usual Honours of War; a sufficient Quantity of Ammunition and Provisions allowed to serve them in their March back to *Annapolis*; and Necessaries for carrying off their Sick and Wounded; the *New-England* Troops to quit *Minas*, and not to take

take up Arms in any Part of *Nova Scotia* during the Term of one Year.

Upon this a Council of War was held, and the Garrison submitted to the Terms proposed.

The killed, wounded and Prisoners taken in this Action by the *French* amounted to about 160, and the Number of *Canadians* and *Indians* killed and wounded by the *New England* Men was computed at between 50 and 60.

The *New England* Men being thus obliged to retire, Mr. *La Corne* quitted *Minas* in a few Days, leaving the Command of a small Party there with an inferior Officer.

Upon gaining this Advantage Mr. *De Ramsay* sent Declarations to the *French* Inhabitants in the Name of the *Governor of Canada*, which were publicly posted up, requiring them to take up Arms, whenever they should be call'd upon by him, against the *English*, on pain of Death, having their Houses burnt, and their Estates confiscated ; and with these he publish'd the Bishop of *Quebec*'s Declaration, pronouncing them absolv'd from their former Oaths of Fidelity to the King of *Great Britain* : On the other hand the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay*, to cut off all Pretensions of a Right of Conquest to the District of *Minas*, which might be grounded on the Capitulation at *Grand Pré*, recommended it to Lieutenant Governor *Mascarene* to send there what Troops he could spare out of the Garrison, who were not restrained by the late Capitulation from bearing Arms, to repossess themselves of the District of *Minas*, and bring as many of the *French* Deputies as they could to *Annapolis Royal* to renew their Oaths of Fidelity to his Majesty.

Accordingly, soon after, Mr. *Mascarene* sent out a Party of Rangers with orders to land at *Grand Pré* ; pursuant to which the commanding Officer landed there and surprized some of the Inhabitants, who informed him that the *Canadians* apprehending that another Descent might be made upon them from *Annapolis* by a fresh Party of Troops, and not thinking themselves safe at *Minas*, had abandon'd it and marched back to *Schiegnecho* ; which the Officer upon entering the Body of the

Town

Town found true ; and after taking Possession of the District by erecting the *English* Standard upon the Guard-House, &c. and seizing such of the Deputies and Inhabitants, as he thought most proper to carry to *Annapolis Royal*, returned thither.

Soon after this, Mr. *De Ramsay* evacuated the Province of all his Troops, and returned with them to *Canada* ; and the Province, being thus cleared of the *Canadians*, remained quiet from any Attempts of the *French*, during the Remainder of the War.

In September 1747, the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay* received his Majesty's Orders, signifying his royal Approbation of the Preparations, he had made for the intended Expedition against *Canada*, and directing him in Conjunction with *Admiral Knowles*, then Governor of Cape *Breton*, to disband the *American* Troops rais'd for that Service, retaining such a Number of them as they should judge necessary for the Protection of *Nova Scotia* ; to collect and liquidate the Accounts of the Ex-pence incurred by the several Governments on account of the Expedition, and transmit them to be laid before his Majesty.

Pursuant to the former Part of these Orders Mr. *Knowles* and he retained 6 Companies of 70 Men each for the Defence of *Nova Scotia*, and it appearing necessary for the Protection of the Province that some Ship of War should be stationed at *Annapolis Royal*, the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay* sent the *Massachusetts* Frigate, the Province Guard-Ship of 20 Carriage Guns upon that Service.

Upon this Occasion Mr. *Mascarene*, whose singular Prudence and Vigilance omitted no Opportunity of reminding the *Acadians* of their Duty, and exhorting them to consult their own Interest by their Fidelity to the King's Government, wrote the following Letter to the Deputies of the three Districts.

“ Messieurs,

“ Though I am much pressed and embarrassed with Busness, I will not however let this Opportunity slip,

K

“ without

“ without writing to you, lest some ill intention'd Persons
 “ should have room to spread false Reports among you,
 “ which might occasion you some Trouble.

“ Mr. Shirley has received from Court express Orders
 “ to watch over the Safety of this Province, and to em-
 “ ploy all the Means and all the Forces that his Excel-
 “ lency shall judge necessary, but always with the Dis-
 “ positions conformable to the Assurances the Inhabitants
 “ have received, that whilst they shall behave themselves
 “ as good Subjects to his *Britannick* Majesty (as they
 “ are bound to it by their Oath) they shall be treated
 “ as his Majesty's own natural Subjects; in consequence
 “ of these Orders there is arrived here a 20 Gun Ship,
 “ and we expect another soon with Transports and
 “ Troops besides those already arrived; this is what I
 “ thought, I ought to let you know, and to join my
 “ Exhortations that you may behave in such a manner
 “ as is convenient for your reaping the Benefit of the
 “ good Dispositions, his Majesty has towards you, to
 “ which you will always find me ready to contribute as
 “ much as is in my power, and you will give me Occa-
 “ sion by your good deportment to do.

“ I am, &c.”

The *Massachusetts Governor* had had the Care of the Government of *Nova Scotia* in a great measure committed to him during the War; and his Majesty having approved of his Proceedings for preserving the *Acadians* in their Allegiance, and preventing them from revolting to the *French*, was pleased to ratify all the Promises and Declarations Mr. Shirley had made them, and authorize him to issue a Declaration in *his* Name to them, to assure them of *his* Performance of what he had promised them, and to add such other Matters therein as Mr. Shirley should think most conducive to his Majesty's Service in that Province.

In the same Year the *Massachusetts Governor* received his Majesty's Orders to form a Plan of Civil Government

ment for the Province of *Nova Scotia*, and to draw up such a Scheme for fortifying it, as he judg'd was requisite for putting it into a State of Security ; and to transmit them to the Secretary of State's Office to be laid before his Majesty.

The Inhabitants of *SchiegneCto* had ever since the Treaty of *Utrecht* distinguished themselves above those of the other two Districts of *Nova Scotia*, by a refractory Behaviour towards his Majesty's Government ; in which they were encouraged by their remote Distance from *Annapolis Royal*, and constant Intercourse with the *French* of *Canada*, and were now become justly suspected and dangerous to the Safety of it.

The *Massachusetts Governor* therefore, in his Plan for fortifying the Province proposed that this District, which lay most exposed to the sudden Attacks of the *French*, and the furthest from being succour'd in case of an Assault, should be secured as soon as might be, by a strong Fortress upon the Isthmus, capable of holding a large Garrison, to be built upon the Spot, where the *French* afterwards built *Beau Sejour* ; and the whole Isthmus between the Basin of *SchiegneCto* and *BayVerte* secured with a Line of Block-Houses placed at convenient Distances ; and that the Inhabitants of the District should be removed either to some Parts of the Province more under the Inspection and Check of his Majesty's Governor at *Annapolis Royal* ; or into some other of his Majesty's Colonies, where they should have equivalent Lands given them ; and that Protestant Settlers, whose Fidelity and Attachment to his Majesty's Government might be depended on, should be transplanted to *SchiegneCto* in their Room ; which was not disapprov'd of.

It will be difficult to strike the Line between the Ratification of the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, in which it was stipulated, that the controverted Limits of this Province should be determined by Commissaries appointed on the Part of *Great Britain* and *France*, and the *French*'s seizing several Parts of the Country which were in dispute.

No sooner was the Treaty concluded, than they sent a Party into St. John's River to take Possession of it ; and their Incroachments grew so fast in every Part of the Peninsula, that after the narrow Escapes and signal Deliverances, it had during the War, if Providence had not again interposed in its Favour, by raising up a * *British* Minister for the immediate Settlement and Protection of it ; to whose peculiar Talents, Vigilance and Spirit for effecting the great Service, the Nation owes its present Possession of *Nova Scotia*, the whole Province would have been swallowed up and lost in *French* Incroachments, even during the short Interval of the late Peace.

If any thing after observing these Incroachments, which followed so close upon the Treaty, can be wanting, to shew that *France*, at the Time of making the Peace, had determined to take the first favourable Opportunity of violently seizing upon the Province ; and was preparing every Measure, which could pave the Way for it ; the Behaviour of the Governor of *Canada*, and Bishop of *Quebec* at this Juncture must put it out of question.

As their Proceedings will be best disclosed by the Insertion of the *Governor of the Massachusetts Bay's* Letter, upon that occasion to the † *Governor of Canada*, Copies of which got abroad at the time of its being sent, I shall here insert it.

Boston, May 9, 1749.

Sir,

" Two Days ago I received from Mr. *Mascarene* a
" Copy of your Letter to him, dated at *Quebec* the 15th
" of *January* ; wherein (among other Demands) you call
" upon him to acquaint you, whether he intends to com-
" prehend the *Abenaki Indians* in the Peace, without
" requiring any kind of Submission from them ; and de-
" sire that in such case he would engage me to let them
" resettle in their Village, and their Missionaries remain
" there with them unmolested, as they did before the War,
" observing to him that those *Indians* entered into the
" War, only as your Allies, and therefore when the War
" was

* The Earl of *Halifax*.

† *Marquis la Gallifontiere*.

“ was finished with you, it ought to be so with regard to
 “ them ; and you proceed to say, Sir, that if they thought
 “ otherwise in *New England*, you shall be obliged to
 “ assist those *Indians*, intimating that it is of Importance to
 “ the Safety and Tranquillity of the Frontiers of the
 “ *Massachusetts Bay*, that you should have a speedy and
 “ positive Answer, and that you shall not be surprized,
 “ if the *Indians* should proceed to Acts of Violence.

“ To this, Sir, which is the fourth Demand in your
 “ Letter, Mr. *Mascarene* having referred you to me
 “ upon it, I shall comply with your Request in giving
 “ as speedy and positive an Answer as may be.

“ The River of St. *John's*, upon which that Part of
 “ the *Indians*, to which you chiefly refer, is seated,
 “ has been ever deemed to be situated within the Heart
 “ of *Nova Scotia*, and consequently that Tribe of
 “ *Indians*, together with the *French* Inhabitants upon
 “ the same River, are within his Majesty's Territories ;
 “ and accordingly, Sir, the latter have acknowledged
 “ themselves ever since the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to be
 “ the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* by tak-
 “ ing the Oaths of Fidelity and Allegiance to it ; and
 “ have had the Protection of his Majesty's Government
 “ in common with his other Subjects in that Province :
 “ This being the case, these *Indians* when the Advice
 “ of a Rupture between his Majesty and the King your
 “ Master was hourly expected, under the Pretext of
 “ sending a Deputation to Mr. *Mascarene*, to desire
 “ they might remain in Peace and Amity with the
 “ *English*, notwithstanding War should happen between
 “ the two Crowns, gained Admission into *Annapolis*
 “ *Royal* for some of their Tribe, who were in reality
 “ (as it afterwards proved) Spies ; and having obtained
 “ Mr. *Mascarene*'s Agreement to what they pretended
 “ to propose in behalf of their Tribe, and being hon-
 “ ourably treated and dismissed by him, returned in
 “ three Weeks after, among others of their Tribe with
 “ the

“ the Missionary *De Loutre* at their Head, surprized
 “ and killed as many of the *English* at *Annapolis Royal*, as they caught without the Fort, destroyed their
 “ Cattle, burnt their Houses, and continued Acts of
 “ Hostility against the Garrison, till the arrival of the
 “ first Party of Succours which I sent it from *New-England*; such was the Entrance of these *Indians*,
 “ Sir, into the War with us, and their *Alliance* with
 “ you.

“ For this perfidious Behaviour I caused War to be
 “ declared in his Majesty’s Name against them at *Boston*
 “ in *November 1744*, and, so far as it depends upon
 “ me, they shall not be admitted to Terms of Peace
 “ till they have made a proper Submission for their
 “ Treachery, unless they should be already comprehended in the Definitive Treaty of Peace and Friendship lately concluded at *Aix la Chapelle*, which I
 “ shall on my Part strictly observe in every Point.

“ As to what you have thought fit to declare, Sir, in
 “ your Letter concerning your Intentions to support the
 “ *Indians* in Acts of Hostility against us, unless we
 “ give them Peace upon the Terms there prescribed by
 “ you, and the Danger which the Frontiers of the *Massachusetts Bay* in particular may be in, unless you
 “ have a speedy and positive Answer upon this head;
 “ what I have to say in Answer is, that I shall be sorry
 “ for a new Rupture between us, and am very desirous
 “ to have perfect Tranquillity restored to the Province
 “ under my Government; but if the latter is not to be
 “ the Case, and you think fit to make yourself a Party
 “ in an *Indian War* against us; I doubt not but his Majesty’s Subjects upon this Continent will be able to
 “ make just Reprisals upon *Canada*, when it shall be
 “ his Majesty’s Pleasure to have them do it.

“ I can’t avoid expressing great Surprise at the other
 “ Parts of your Letter, whereby you take upon you to
 “ call

“ call Mr. *Mascarene* to account for expelling the Missionary from *Minas*, for being guilty of such treasonable Practices within his Majesty’s Government, as merited a much severer Punishment than that of Expulsion from the Province.

“ The Right, you claim of sending Missionaries from *France* to reside among his Majesty’s Subjects of *Nova Scotia* as their Priests, and in consequence of that your forbidding his Majesty’s Governor to make any Alteration in the State of Religion and its Ministers there is still more extraordinary ; and I must not omit upon this Occasion to remark to you, that I think the Letter which the Bishop of *Quebec* lately wrote to Mr. *Mascarene* concerning his intended Visitation of his Majesty’s Subjects in that Government, in such terms, as shew’d, he looks upon them as part of his Cure of Souls, and within his Jurisdiction, was likewise an extraordinary Attempt, and can’t be admitted.

“ Your interfering in his Majesty’s Punishment of his Subjects in *Nova Scotia* inflicted for rebellious and treasonable Practices against his Crown, and his requiring others of them to renew their Oaths of Fidelity ; and in one Word, your treating the Subjects of the Crown of *Great Britain* in that Province, as if you look’d upon them as Subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and being under his Allegiance, is, if possible, still more surprizing ; and as these Attempts are manifest Invasions of the undoubted Right, which every Prince has over his Subjects, I can’t but look upon them as Insults upon his Majesty’s Government, which require no further Answer.

“ After these Attempts, Sir, upon his Majesty’s Right of Government over his Subjects in *Nova Scotia*, I am less surprized at your Encroachments upon the Limits of his Province, which you are pleased to call in your Letter Dependencies of the Government of *Canada*.

“ As

“ As to your Demand for the Release of the two *Indians* carry’d off by Captain *Gorham*, I can’t allow, Sir, that you have a Right to interpose in that Affair, and Mr. *Gorham* has satisfy’d me that he committed no Breach of public Faith in doing it.

“ I can’t conclude without making use of this Opportunity to acquaint you, that we look on Fort *St. Frederick* at *Crown Point*, as an Encroachment on his Majesty’s Territories; and in case you proceed to settle the Country round it, I shall esteem those Settlements so too, unless that Tract has been ceded to you by the late definitive Treaty at *Aix laChapelle*.

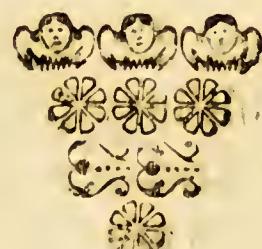
“ I am sorry, Sir, that the first Fruits of the Peace on your Part have so unpromising an Aspect; and beg you will be persuaded that nothing shall be wanting in me to preserve the good understanding, which ought to subsist between us in time of Peace, having the Honour to be with the most perfect Regard,

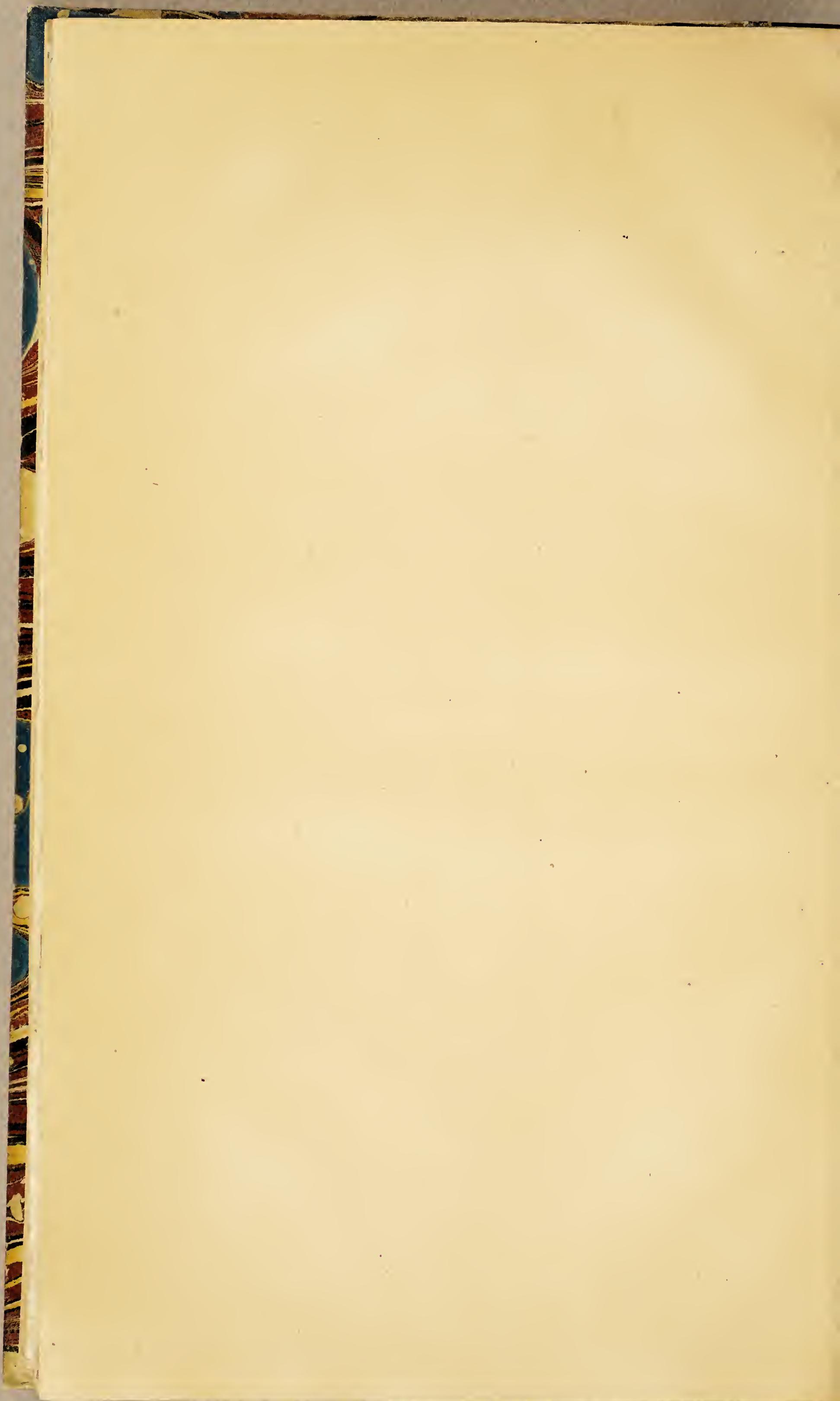
“ Sir,

“ Your most humble, and

“ Most obedient Servant.”

F I N I S.





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